Title: Performance and practice in higher education: an ethnomethodological study of everyday academic work.

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Performance and practice in higher education: an ethnomethodological study of everyday academic work.

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by

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Author's Declaration:

I, Caroline Bolam, declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and it has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

Performance and practice in higher education: an ethnomethodological study of everyday academic work.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have cited the published work of others, this is clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
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Date: 24th March 2019 (third submission)

Abstract:

It is widely accepted that Higher Education (HE) has gone through significant changes within the last sixty years. The effects of such phenomena as managerialism, marketization and performativity are well documented in the literature (Deem et al 2007, Molesworth et al 2011, Hussey and Smith 2010, Bell et al 2009). Often, such terms are introduced and accepted as truth without fully exploring what such phenomena really mean to the members of that community. However, policy and purpose (impact) may differ from practice, as illustrated by Weider (1974).

This research uses ethnomethodology (EM) as its focus, to explore this issue further. EM is a method of inquiry which concentrates on the members' methods to understand how they make meaning of their work environment through their daily practices. This research applies a documentary approach to lecturing, to see it as a document of accomplishment. It also draws on the method of conversation analysis (CA) and examines discussions with academic members of two post 1992 universities, which are seen to be the most affected by the neoliberal phenomena mentioned. This is to understand how they accomplish their performance of being an academic.

The use of EM allows a greater appreciation of the shared understanding of the use of the social space of the university and how the organisational daily objectives are achieved by its members. Evidence from this research shows that performativity (Lyotard 1984) causes misunderstandings of purpose, and marketized approaches have increased assymetries in student-academic interactions.

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Abbreviations used in this thesis:

BIS	Department of Business Innovation and Skills
CA	Conversation Analysis
CDP	Continuous Professional Development
DA	Discourse Analysis
DAM	Discursive Action Model
DEL	Department for Employment and Learning, Northern Ireland
EM	Ethnomethodology
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
HE	Higher Education
HEA	Higher Education Academy
HEFCE	Higher Education Funding Council for England
HEFCW	Higher Education Funding Council for Wales
HEI	Higher Education Institute
HESA	Higher Education Statistics Agency
HRM	Human Resource Management
MCA	Membership Category Analysis
MCD	Membership Category Analysis
NSS	National Student Survey

OECD	Organisation of Co-operation and Development
QAA	Quality Assurance Agency
RAE	Research Assessment Exercise
SFC	Scottish Funding Council
SRP	Standardised Relational Pair
TEF	Teaching Excellence Framework

Chapter 1 - Introduction

The purpose of this research is to understand how academic members of the higher education (HE) community demonstrate their understanding of recent changes within two post-1992 higher education institutes (HEIs). The study draws on a methodological approach known as ethnomethodology (EM), which seeks to discover how members methods of interaction and gesture produce the workplace, with a view to building an understanding of how a community (specifically academic members) view their role through observing and discussing with them, their interactions with others.

The contribution to knowledge this thesis provides is a detailed study of how members draw on resources for interaction and gesture to accomplish their understanding of HE. An examination of present-day issues known in HE is examined through the daily accomplishment of role within two post-1992 HEI's to understand how academics act out their culture. The extant literature highlights identity erosion due to changes in the sector. Although there is some ethnomethodological research into this (Garfinkel 2002, Hester and Francis 2004, Eglin 2009) it is an area that merits further investigation. Firstly, I will provide some background to the study and my own involvement, followed by an outline the objectives of the research.

1.1- Background to the study

Both the media and academic literature document that HE has been subjected to many changes in recent years, these will be explored later. Williams (2013) notes that the primary function of UK higher education today is to serve an economic purpose. Furedi (2009) sees the instrumental approach to HE as an attack on the

original values of education, thus reducing its role by narrowing the public role of education. As Williams puts it, 'education must indeed have a purpose' (2013, pg. 17) and this purpose is set by the political and governmental forces of society. The recent view highlighted in literature contrasts greatly with the more traditional views which will also be explored.

Whilst a long-documented history of HE is not necessary for this thesis, it is valuable to consider some of the historical influences which affect the ideals of HE as this has arguably influenced the identity of academics in universities. Williams (2013) places the origin of the university in the UK as far back as 1096, but Hussey and Smith (2010) claim that how we recognize a university as we know it now is best dated back to the fifteenth century. Whilst the purpose of this introduction is to frame the basis of the thesis, these different dates show us that 'facts' and 'purpose' change within the sector. This is a constant process. What a university 'is', is open to debate. The early universities were joined to the church it was not until later that the two were separated and a more utilitarian purpose was imposed upon the university.[1] Williams (2013) asserts that HE represents the intellectual inheritance from one generation to another, and the role of education was, Arendt (1954, cited in Williams 2013) said, to shape the next generation because we are born into an existing world, with existing values. The early history demonstrates to us that HE has always been pushed and pulled by society and influenced by a societal agenda and that education is not regarded as 'good' for the sake of it, but because it has a purpose in society. This is a popular notion (Williams 2013). Early educational ideals were linked to the needs of society at that time with popular notions of the role of the HE system stemming from Von Humboldt, who published his philosophies of education around 1793, and Newman, who published his 'Idea of a University' in 1852 (Williams 2013). These

[1] The separation of church and state in the university was not until after the ruling of Charles II (Gillard 2011)

two, along with others contributed to the idea of a liberal arts education, which lead to self-cultivation and the enlightenment of the individual. Newman saw HE as counter to economic utility, and that education was about freeing the soul, which money would not do (Williams 2013). This ideal view of the liberal arts education as the purpose of HE is the one that prevails in our current system as the traditional view. This is what Hussey and Smith (2010) are referring to in terms of how we recognise HE today.

Whilst these ideals set out by Newman and Von Humboldt are still largely referred to in texts outlining the history of higher education, Savage (2010) highlights that such thinking was outdated after the industrial revolution and after the world wars by a move towards more middlebrow thinking and the rise of the technical identity[2]. The university sector was seen as an aid to competitiveness after the industrial revolution to create a skilled workforce and greater economic advantage (Williams 2013). Savage (2010) refers to the art of governing people in such a way as to shape a new class. The cultured highbrow aristocracy and the lowbrow working class, now had a middle ground, the 'middle classes', better referred to as the 'professional classes' or 'managerial classes'. A popular view of these middle classes as the backbone of society, had a large influence on the expansion and vision of HE (Savage 2010).

The Butler Act of 1944 led to compulsory education of all children aged 11-15. This started the expansion of education in general, away from just those who could afford it.

At the same time, universities started to demand qualifications for entry, thus keeping them in the domain of the elite. It was not until the creation of local education

[2] Savage (2010) refers to the work of Collini (2006) on absent minds and the highbrow culture.

authorities through the Education Act of 1962 that money was available to provide education to those who 'deserved it' (Williams 2013).

At a similar time (1963) there was the publication of the Robbins Report which is seen to have had a dramatic effect on HE. Economic prosperity was high and there was pressure to expand the university sector and also fulfill a social requirement to expand social mobility by offering HE to more people. Robbins argued for higher education to build on the new advances in science and technology, thus building the technical identities proposed by Savage (2010). He also revered the concept of a liberal education, stating to the Committee of Education that the role of universities was to continue the 'search for truth'. His vision was to increase knowledge and therefore provide avenues for economic prosperity. Robbins shared the belief of many philosophers and advocates of education[3] that prosperity was linked to knowledge and a broadening of the classes. HE was framed, in the Robbins Report, as for the public good. This was widely accepted by the sector, as it led to financial investment. Williams (2013) notes that the expansion happened worldwide. The political system in the USA led to greater equality in terms of race and gender than the system in the UK, whereas expansion had little influence on the demographic make-up of students in the universities here. Female and black students are still less likely to go to the more traditional, more liberal universities. Rather than recognizing the student voice as partners in the construction of the education provision, 'liberal attention has focused upon the abhorrence of the commercialization of the campus.' (Williams 2013, pg. 35).

There is a body of literature by academics who are writing about academia (Deem et al. 2007, Hussey and Smith 2010, William 2013, Furedi 2017), which focuses on this

[3] Williams states Robbins shared this belief with Matthew Arnold, the cultural critic and school inspector.

issue. The Robbins Report of 1963 led to the expansion of HE whilst still espousing a liberal education value. In principle, Robbins saw education as raising the reach of the elite to more people, this contrasts with Savage's (2010) view. Savage (2010) positions massification as creating another layer, the middlebrow, a middle ground between the highbrow and the low brow. The end of the binary divide between universities and polytechnics sought to consolidate the view that Savage (2010) has espoused but this wasn't until the introduction of the Higher Education Act in 1992.

Williams (2013) highlights the biggest change in the HE sector is the turn towards viewing education as the buying of human capital. This was influenced by neoliberal politics and successive neoliberal governments. Neoliberalism is:

> '…in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade.' (Harvey 2005, Pg 2)

Although the theory has been criticized over the years for its view that people are just economic instruments, the acceptance of neoliberalism within western society is vast. In his book on the globalization of HE, Altbach (2016) notes that even countries that do not have neoliberal governments have adopted the market principles in HE. Here he is drawing on the work of Stiglitz (2002, cited in Altbach 2016), claiming that this is as a result of pressure from the World Bank. He goes on to give examples of the problems that the BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India and China) countries face to show his understanding of this; he provides some statistics of investment but there is little evidence for his assertion. These descriptions are interesting, but are not evidenced by any underlying research. In his book's introductory paragraph, he claims that

human capital is an issue of the global knowledge economy. He posits that school is seen as a 'public good' and university as a 'private good'. This is the assertion put forward by Newman (1873) but has subsequently been framed very differently. As the market has grown, universities compete against each other and students are encouraged to see themselves as customers (Williams 2013). Williams (2013) notes that this is the view that governments put forward. She draws on interviews with government ministers to illustrate this. Williams goes on to interview students who also show an awareness of the cost of investment in themselves and the benefit to their careers. There is no evidence of how the interview questions were framed to demonstrate this, but she has tried to illustrate the construction of the 'consumer turn'. Other authors highlight how this has created more complex structures within the management of universities, in a bid to make them more competitive within this global market place (Altbach 2016) or the home market (Deem et al 2007).

The principle that Robbins (1963) proposed, was that individuals would gain from access to HE, thereby increasing their prospects of economic and social mobility. This has been framed by neoliberalism as an investment in the self, giving the individual competitive advantage. Historically, before the days of mass numbers in HE, higher education was autonomous of the state and students paid their fees. But from the 60s to end of the 90s HE was effectively free to students as the government paid the tuition fees. However, this meant that universities were bound more to the state, as this was the basis of funding. With the rise in student numbers this became a worry for the government, who pushed for students to pay their own fees. In 1998 fees were re-introduced at £1000 per year, and then raised to £3000 in 2004. This fee has now increased to £9000+ per year (Anderson 2016). Altbach (2016) comments that traditionally and throughout these changes HE has been framed as a public good. Now students have more choice of degree to develop their career, but must pay for it. However, HEI's are still influenced by the state through various

mechanisms. Now it is seen as a 'private' good, it is framed as being 'for' the individual and therefore the individual must invest in themselves. Altbach (2016) notes that economic crisis, acceptance of the argument of the individual good, and growing privatization have led to a deterioration of conditions of study, problems for the profession, and a sense of impoverishment for the whole of higher education. The purpose of HE has changed. Williams (2013) highlights that satisfaction and employability are not the same as education, yet these are what the state measures. She draws on the work of Naidoo and Jamieson (2005, cited in Williams 2013) to say that students who subscribe to the consumer ideals are resisting processes of transformation. However, she also notes that both students and academics resist this notion of the students as a consumer.

This review has looked at both historical and more recent events which have impacted on HE and our concept of learning. It can be shown that HE has changed considerably and changes have been accepted, but also resisted them at the same time. Traditional concepts of learning have been important to the academic identity; these will be explored further in the literature review. The changes seen to affect HE the most are those which have occurred since the Robbins Report (1963). This short historical review illustrates some of the concepts that are still seen as important to the HE sector, such as the resistance to fees which is illustrated by Williams (2013). In the past investment in the self and the development of human capital was seen as a privilege. The issues of expansion and market values have been a catalyst for recent government positions and the framing of the student identity as one of consumer. The neoliberal ideologies of 'massification', 'managerialism' and 'marketization' were the background of my interest in researching this subject, and these will be explored further in the literature review.

1.2 - Background to my involvement in this study

I came into HE in 2003 as an organizational development manager. I was recruited and selected with the use of funds from the Rewarding and Developing Staff Initiative. This was an initiative by the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) to increase the role of human resources (HR) in HE. HEFCE carried out an evaluation of this initiative and reported satisfactory results which lead to them mainstreaming the funding from this initiative into the university main funding mechanisms (Deloitte and Touche, 2002). However, research by Guest and Clinton (2007) found no link between HR practices and university performance, in contrast with other business areas where there was a correlation between HR and performance. These issues interested me from my perspective of managing within academia (I was an HR professional). In 2009 I moved over into an academic post, having done some ad hoc lecturing work within the university. My interests now are different, as I look at the issue from the other side. As an HR professional I met resistance from academics, but as an academic I understand why.

As an HR professional I encountered a lot of resistance to any systems or processes that I tried to put in place. When I started I understood my remit but noticed that my Gantt charts for projects and timelines increased as I entered consultations with various parties. I found little agreement on what ways human resources could support or enhance HE. I entered HE as an enthusiastic and conscientious HR professional, but having moved to the academic side, I have developed a very different perspective. I have spent the last eight years as an academic, building my identity within that role, and reflecting back on my managerial position within a university with a very different outlook and perspective on the people I once tried to manage. This has given me a unique perspective. I am not the only person to change course. Many academics join HE from their discipline, rather than follow a

purely academic route, but there are not many to have encountered both the pure managerial and academic roles within the same institution. This unique perspective has developed my interest in the issues of how academics manage the tensions within their competing roles. This is the main purpose of my thesis. I want to examine this issue of performance through the lens of academic life. I want to examine the practices that academics use to accomplish their everyday lives and demonstrate their understanding of their role.

When I started this study, I was quite new to academia and felt under pressure to deliver to all of my deadlines, but I often felt thwarted by the way that work allocation was managed. Things that as an HR professional I had found frustrating about when working with academics, I soon found myself doing, such as being late with reports or data collection, as this was suddenly not my priority. I also found students demanding from me in ways that I wasn't expecting. I had been a school teacher before, and this had taken me on a journey into training and then human resources, but I was surprised by the anger students sometimes expressed when they got a grade they didn't think was good enough, or how they reacted to aspects of the subject. Early on in my academic career I started to understand some of the tensions that academics face.

Having swapped roles I decided to undertake a PhD. This movement from gamekeeper to poacher led me to take a particular interest in the topic of 'performance.' As I read more around the subject, I became particularly interested in it from the perspective of everyday practice. I was very aware of the tensions between the managers and the managed, and how performance was constrained by over-burdensome measurement.

1.3 - Research objectives

I set out to explore these tensions that had just become so much of a reality for me. From my starting point to now, my objectives have changed, but still remain true to my original interest. I will expand on this in due course, but for now, as an introduction to the purpose of this study my interests and objectives are:

1) To understand how academics with both teaching and research commitments or teaching and management commitments working in post 1992 HEI's make sense of the demands of their job.
2) To analyse how these academics observably demonstrate their understanding of their job through their day-to-day interactions and how they present themselves to others. E.g. Managers, students, wider academic community.
3) To explain how academics manage the tensions arising from complexities of the ideologies and their competing demands.
4) To document the techniques used to manage these demands/ expectations.

1.4 - My contribution to knowledge

The literature on HE is vast (Tight 2012). Tight has attempted to classify this but, as he says, the information is seen as rather disorganized. Universities are now 'big business' (Tight, 2012 loc 420) and research is one of those areas of business. McNay (2010, cited in Tight 2012) categorises the research of HE into seven main categories. One of these categories is:

> 'staff: characteristics, recruitment, development, roles, appraisal, conditions of service, equity issues, trade unionism.' (6% of kindle edition Tight 2012)

Although Tight (2012) does admit to being influenced by this in the first edition of his book, his systematic review listed eight key themes, of which one is 'academic work: including academic roles, academic development, academic careers, the changing nature of academic work and academic work in different countries.' (6% Tight, 2012). My study falls into a number of these particular strands of recognised research.

My research fits into the strands of the changing nature of academic work and academic accomplishment (Tight 2012). Tight (2010, cited in Tight 2012) researched the issue of increasing workload and concluded that although workloads increased in the 1960s from about forty to fifty hours a week, this has not changed significantly since. However, he did conclude that although workload was not increasing, the balance of it was, and that administration burdens have changed it in an undesirable way, changing the environment to one with which academics are uneasy. Much of this research has been done through the use of interviews or studies documenting the reactions of academic staff. Rawls and Mann (2015) criticise the dominant view of social study as one where 'organizations and institutions provide the structure and consistency of social order,' (p176). They propose the use of alternative methods to acknowledge this deficit of method.

This study is different, as it seeks to understand the literature on HE and how this literature portrays impact on the academic identity. The emphasis is moved from a formal analytic approach to an interest in how participants produce meaning in their work environment. Goffman (1959) refers to regions of behaviour: in order for workers to succeed in the appearance of working hard, they need to have a front region to show their performances; however the back-stage performances may actually contradict this. This study is predominantly concerned with these 'front' regions of performance. My interest is in how members of the academic community

accomplish their everyday role, and their demonstration of their competence in that role.

Pabian (2014) notes that ethnography is not widely used in HE; however it has had some impact. In his systematic review of HE journals, Tight (2012) finds that the most popular methods of research methodology in HE are multivariate analysis, documentary analysis, and interview-based research. Qualitative research is popular in this field. If ethnography is seen as underused, then ethnomethodology (EM) is even less used in the field of research in HE. Looking at my own university's library resources, a search of journal articles (accessed December 2017) under the heading 'ethnography in higher education' brings up 35,923 hits, whereas a search of journal articles of EM in HE brings up only 2,147 hits. This is a general overview search of electronic sources. A more detailed look of these studies shows they tend to be advancing a particular niche area of specialisation. This study is using EM to examine closely how the widely documented modern university is socially ordered by its participants, this is an area currently under explored. There are studies, but they are limited. EM studies are generally seen as micro studies and are not applied to such a broad conceptual framework as I have done. Weider's (1974) study of a half-way house, that is both ethnographic and ethnomethodological inspired me to look at how the literature compares against practice. This makes my study, using EM a contribution to knowledge as it brings into stark relief the actual daily practices, which although polemically discussed are rarely examined. This contributes to knowledge by describing issues as documented in the wider literature.

Reiterating Tights's (2012) point of universities as 'big business'. Literature on the recent history draws heavily on the rhetoric of 'massification', 'managerialism' and 'marketization'. There is a strong use of numerical data to show the occurrence of large-scale change. Indeed, it is easy to produce statistical evidence of an increase in numbers of students and costs to show how these terms came to the fore. There

are fewer ethnographic and ethnomethodological studies. This present study is data driven but allows for detailed exploration rather than large scale statistics. Whilst numbers can add some credence to these large-scale economic concepts, they do not explain what this means in day-to-day practice as will be explored further on in this thesis. My thesis contributes to the existing knowledge by focusing on the micro issues of everyday reality within the academic world and considering them against the backdrop of the macro issues reported in the literature.

There are three sections of analysis.
The first is an exploration of conversations between members of a post 1992 university. It describes interaction between university managers and other members of staff. This was done to help build an understanding of the role of management within post 1992 universities.

The second two pieces of analysis could be termed as replication studies. Analysis part two is a replication of a study Garfinkel carried out in 1972 (Garfinkel 2002). By repeating this study it contributes to knowledge by highlighting differences and similarities in the performance features in a university classroom environment. It is set in a different country and era, so it shows what is similar and also what is different.

Analysis part three is a replication of a study by Rawls and Duck (2017), which was used in a very different setting, but by replicating the methodology, it contributes to knowledge by demonstrating how the issue of trust in social order can be applied in different groups within post 1992 university settings. Rawls and Duck (2017) used it to examine trust in high status black males, whereas here it is highlighting trust issues between academics and students, and also between academics staff members.

The aim of this research is to ascertain how the daily lives of academic staff are acted out in the current HE environment, by describing the interactions of academic staff in terms of their expectations of their performance and the complexity of the work environment. The three analyses are designed to explore the issue of interaction to highlight how higher education is perceived by its members.

1.5 - Structure of the thesis

In the introduction, the importance of this study is seen in the outline of some of the prevailing literature frameworks in the academic literature on higher education. I have also explained my personal interest in this research and have put forward the objectives for the rest of the thesis.

Chapter two starts to outline the conceptual framework, that has influenced this thesis. It examines the literature on changing ideologies in HE and explores the impact of these ideologies.

Chapter three expands the conceptual framework by exploring theoretical approaches to the concept of performance, and how this has been developed in HE.

Chapter four examines theories of individual management of performance and how this affects human identity. Here individuals are seen as conscious actors within the social process, who are moulded by the situation.

Chapter five explores the limitations of this conceptual framework. This is a popular framework which follows a constructivist perspective, but this is a view that has been contested by those who take a broader data driven approach.

Chapter six outlines the role of ethnomethodology in my study of academic life. EM argues against too broad a view. In terms of research, it recognizes the need to complement the perspectives already put forward with investigation into the more mundane issues of how people make sense of their lives. It looks at practical accomplishment.

Chapter seven explains how I applied ethnomethodology, as a perspective to higher education. It looks at how I collected data and also considers ethical issues in the research design.

Chapter eight outlines the three sections of analysis that I carried out, giving further details of how I collected and interpreted the data.

Chapter nine highlights the key findings from the three areas of analysis. These analyses are: the use of conversation analysis (CA) to examine interactions between staff members in two post-1992 universities, the use of the documentary method to highlight the shared understanding of members (students and academics) in classrooms, and discussions with academics about incongruities in practice and how 'shop floor problems' are resolved.

Chapter ten concludes the work, showing how I achieved the objectives by drawing on the formal analytic theories and considering them through the ethnomethodological lens. It also reflects on my research journey and suggests areas for further development.

Chapter 2 – Key Influences, impacts and (un)intended outcomes in higher education.

2.1 - Key theories/ ideologies of the purpose of higher education

This chapter will review the extant literature related to the current understanding of HE. The literature reports on higher education and creates a scene of HE which influences how it is viewed by society. This reflected narrative is likely to influence the performance of higher education by its members, although they may not have read it.

Before ideologies of HE are explored it is important to ascertain what were the traditional views of the role of HE. The most popular notion of HE is that of a liberal education. This is thought to have evolved from studies of the liberal arts (Gillard 2011). The structure of universities and the current terminology are still geared around this ideal. This route of education was seen as separate from the artisan vocational training route. Zakaria (2014) asserts that the ideal of a liberal education was to build character. This initially stemmed from religious ideals but was built on the assumption of learning through 'study, disputing, eating and drinking, playing and praying,' (pg. 49). Education was seen as a holistic all rounded experience which was experiential and also theoretical. Humboldt (1767-1835) viewed education as an opportunity for an individual to:

> 'absorb the great mass of material offered to him by the world around him and by his inner existence, using all the possibilities of his receptiveness: he must then reshape that material with all the energies of his own activity and appropriate it to himself so as to create an interaction between his own

> personality and nature in a most general, active harmonious form.' (cited in Williams 2013, pg. 21).

Collini (2012) asserts that Humboldt extended the view to be about knowledge dissemination and also knowledge contribution. Thus, broadening educational remits through the advancement of knowledge and research became an important part of the process. Humboldt was not strictly advocating a liberal education but rather more of a narrow, specialised view of disciplines. Williams (2013) noted that Humboldt's view came at the end of the period of enlightenment, and perhaps enlightened thinking has been conflated with Humboldt's view, to bring this idea of a liberal education, as Zakaria (2014) puts forward. Another key contributor to our view of education is Cardinal Newman who wrote 'The Idea of a University' in 1862. He saw a liberal education as:

> 'A habit of mind […] which lasts through life, of which the attributes are freedom, equitableness, calmness, moderation and wisdom […] a philosophical habit […]. This is the main purpose of a university in its treatment of its students.' (cited in Williams 2013 pg. 21).

Newman's book was to promote the need for a catholic university in Dublin, once again linked to religion, but Newman did acknowledge the role of vocational work in a way that Humboldt didn't. When we view the literature of the journey of HE, this is what universities are seen to have come from. The ideological tradition of HE is that it was based on this idea of a liberal education, a rounding of the whole person, to become a more enlightened being[4], although this has evolved from some competing

[4] The Enlightenment was a period in European history, around the 17th and 18th centuries, which was seen to be about increasing reason to better understanding and increase happiness. It guided the individual to freedom through knowledge. (Enclopaedia Britannica accessed online September 2017). It is notable according to Irvine (2001) that this was also a radical transformation of how our churches and institutions operated.

and contested ideas as to what this means. Nevertheless, the ideal of a liberal education is seen to be lost to a more vocational, job related approach to education.

Whilst maintaining the link between education and religion, Newman did acknowledge the link with economic prosperity, which will be explored later. This changed the dynamic; education was not so much a path to freedom, as a path to a better career. The term used to describe this style of learning is instrumentalism (Dewy 2015).

Instrumentalism is a philosophy put forward by John Dewey. He used this as the best term to describe the purpose of education; he saw education as a practical process to lead to an adjustment for success (Britannica Concise Encyclopedia, accessed 2017). Initially this instrumental view of HE was seen as the domain of polytechnics. Vocational education was not seen as higher education, but as instrumental in providing skills for work (Grace 2012). However, when polytechnics became part of HE this conflated the concepts leading to claims that all HE was now instrumental (Budd 2017). Vannatta (2016) bemoans that the:

> 'utilitarian and consumerist model of higher education undervalues the importance and worth of the liberal arts.' (pg. 18).

He outlines that there are a number of responses to this: reactionary, which is to argue against it, conservative, pragmatist and presentist. He points to the need to change the teaching of liberal arts subjects, to show their value, thus demonstrating the pervasive and debilitating impact of instrumentalism.

There are other theories which can be applied to the purpose of HE. Himanka (2015) used the Greek origins[5] to explain the synthesis between philosophy and science.[6] He asserts that science is influenced by philosophy, and instrumentalism will erode the sciences in time. Whilst other theories are used, they come back to these two main philosophies; enlightenment and instrumentalism. Instrumentalism has been a discourse used to promote neoliberal ideology.

2.2 - Neoliberal ideologies and higher education

Deem (2004) states that neoliberalism in HE has been the prevailing ideology that has influenced change in the last 20 years. Neoliberalism is a form of capitalism so it is worth spending some time considering its importance in HE. The capitalist model has been the predominant economic model of our society in the UK since the industrial revolution. This historical period changed the demand for production and allowed capitalism to flourish. Capitalism's conceptual source at this early stage is largely attributed to Adam Smith (Goody 2004). He advocated a model of the production of goods and services based on supply and demand. Whilst the capitalist model had been evident in our society from even earlier than this, probably as early as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Goody 2004), the rise of industrialization led to a flourish in industry and the growth of private business. Capitalism started to become the predominant model during this period. Neoliberalism is a particular model of capitalism that relates to the economic and politic discourse in our country from the late 1970's onwards. This framed importance of neoliberal influence in HE is well documented (Deem et al 2007, Molesworth et al 2011, Williams 2013)

[5] He highlights how some of our practices which we use today, such as the idea of a lecture come from Aristotle's thinking, that in order to learn, we need to listen.
[6] This also relates to Lyotard's (1984) theory of performativity.

It is difficult to chart the beginning of the neoliberal ideology. Harvey (2005) pins it down to the Mont Pelerin Society, formed in 1947, in opposition to the economic and political situation which came after the Second World War. However, its influence and reach at this time was limited. Jessop (2002) affirms that its rise in influence can be seen from the late 1970s. Since then, there have been a large number of reviews and reports that have been influenced by successive neoliberal governments (Jessop 2002). Stedman Jones (2012) asserts that the real impact of neoliberalism was in the 1980's, when it really took hold and its grip can be seen. But it is also important to recognise that neoliberalism is not a fixed concept. Its influence on HE is probably due to its influence following the years of the Keynesian economic model, which is widely attributed to have been beneficial to HE and the traditional ideologies. Capitalism had been an influence in higher education for some time, but neoliberalism has lead to various phenomena which have been present in the last 50 years. The growth of neoliberalism and how it is understood in HE will now be further explored, as this is more pertinent to this thesis than capitalism in general.

Deem (2004) called neoliberalism an ideology, however it had evolved through a number of decades, and has taken on different guises. Stedman Jones (2012) makes the point that we must not consider early ideologists of neoliberalism as naïve caricatures. The Mont Pelerin Society, who started the concept of neoliberalism, were concerned that overt collectivism brought about by the welfare state as a result of liberal ideals after the war, was a serious constraint on individual freedom. Liberalism had seen great poverty from economic freedom; it was critical of the observed social inequality of the early 20th century and after the Second World War, the labour government set out to ensure adequate provision of health care, education and a welfare state applying the Keynesian economic model to public sector and publicly funded bodies. This allowed the public sector and publicly funded organisations to flourish.

Neoliberalism was a reaction to liberalism and the constraints it imposed. The ideals of neoliberalism argued for the freedom of markets over bureaucratic rule, as the bureaucracy was seen to cause market stagnation. The introduction of neoliberal principles through Thatcher and Reagan was accepted readily as the timing of such an ideal was seen as an apt response to market issues of the time. However, in order for neoliberalism to take hold as it did, there was a need to make it culturally acceptable. It needed to be seen as more than an economic model. Thatcher denounced the state and declared success as individualism, private property, personal responsibility and family values. 'Economics is the method, but the object is to change the soul,' she is reported to have said. (Harvey 2005, pg. 23).

Neoliberalism was well documented by Foucault (2008) in his lectures. In 1978 Foucault differentiates between the European and the American model of neoliberalism. With the European model, Keynesian economics became known as 'embedded liberalism'. The first of these transformations that Foucault (2008) highlighted, was the separation of the principles of neoliberalism from laissez-faire market principles (this is later referred to as technologies of agency (Dean 2010) and the second was about performance. Performance was accomplished through what to be involved in and what not to be involved in, such as market forces and political regulation, the 'performance' of these was of importance. This will be explored further in the next paragraph.

Foucault (2008) lectured at length on what neoliberalism was in terms of its impact on society. He drew on historical sources to explain how it became an entity. He saw it as a reframing of liberalism. The philosophy was one of seeing the market as separate from politics. He acknowledged this did not mean that politics was not related but could not be seen to be directly involved in influencing the market.

Politics was to be influenced indirectly through the art (performance) of government or 'governmentality'. This is well illustrated in public institutions, where government intervention must be seen as separated (Bittner 1967). Bittner's (1967) study of the police illustrated the need for police work to be seen as separate from the government, or the government could be seen as a potential corruptor. Whilst this is easy to spot in public institutions, Foucault saw this as an issue in freedom of market choice. Neoliberal advocates put forward a freedom to the market, which meant that any involvement which was seen to affect the market needed to be indirect. Foucault concluded that European neoliberalism was not to be seen as a marketization, even if this is the case. It was to be seen as permanent vigilance, activity and intervention (this then becomes translated into managerialism). The European model has three particular preoccupations; these are the issue of monopolies, the problem of conformable economic action and the problem of social policy, but for the purposes of this thesis, we will focus on social policy.

Social policy is:

> 'broadly speaking a policy with the objective of everybody having relatively equal access to consumer goods.' (Foucault 2008, pg142).

This goes against the economic rationale of neoliberalism, so it is a contradiction to the other preoccupations of the ideology, although this became the prevailing discourse. It is seen as a counterpoint to unrestrained economic processes. Framed as equality, in order for neoliberalism to thrive, competition had to be ever present and this is the opposite of equality. Foucault concludes:

> 'government must not form a counterpoint or screen between society and economic process (pg 142).

Governments were not to involve themselves with market matters, they would regulate themselves. It was to intervene on society as such, in its 'fabric and depth.'(pg. 145)

> 'It has to intervene on society so that competitive mechanisms can lay a regulatory role at every moment and every point in society by intervening in this way its objective will become possible, that is to say, a general regulation of society by market.' (Foucault 2008, pg145).

Foucault is highlighting that the discourse of people must be social not economic. As already stated, the concern must be to show equal access to the consumer goods as this was the role of social regulation. The fact they may not be affordable is not the concern. The discourses governments used needed to be concerned with the issue of access. This means that the discourse around the policy of society becomes the same for all individuals. Individuals have a choice to invest in themselves and give themselves greater power, through their wise use of their own resources (bio-power). In terms of the discourse on education, Ball (2013) highlights the fact that this is prevalent in the discourse of education. He states that the purpose of education is to grade and therefore hierarchise, which is the opposite of equal. The very nature is to set people apart, but there is a strong discourse in the inclusiveness of education, and access to it, thus demonstrating the duality of its purpose compared to the discourse.

In terms of neoliberalism, this intertwined discourse is most obvious in the American model of neoliberalism. Its historical roots are very different from the European model; however, the main distinction Foucault (2008) makes is the issue of human capital theory. American neoliberalism depends on three things – land, capital and labour. He makes the point that the selling of labour brings labour power. This led to

the coining of the phrase ‘homo-economicus’. This means that man is an entrepreneur of himself, he makes his own capital his own fortune, he is the product of himself and his money. Money can buy everything; an education, a better body, a better chance. However, if this is the harsh reality of what economics does, then it is clear that neoliberalism is not going to create equal access, but such thinking is largely ignored in the discourse.

This is Brown’s (2015) key criticism of Foucault’s understanding of neoliberalism. She emphasizes that Foucault’s lectures on neoliberalism ignored the role of what she calls ‘homo-politicus’, or political man. But this fails to acknowledge that Foucault’s work was before its time (Dean 2010). Brown’s (2015) work is also examining the American model, rather than the European model of neoliberalism. For this thesis, the European model is the focus[7]. Here the discourse of homo-economicus and homo-politicus is more nuanced. When you consider that Foucault drew up these theories in 1978-1979, this was only the birth of neoliberalism. It has grown considerably since then and been through a number of iterations. He showed a remarkable insight into the growing trend of neoliberal politics. Brown (2015) asserts that neoliberalism is a political domain as much as an economic one. Indeed, if you consider the neo liberal discourse of ‘New Labour’ you see the politics at play in the discourse in the affiliation with Giddens' (2000) ‘third way’, bringing neoliberalism to the left. Hall (2011) documents this well in his history of neoliberalism through the last 40 years, showing how it has been the dominant discourse of both left and right governments. From Thatcher, to Blair, to the more recent coalition, and now the conservative government, we can see its progression.

[7] It is important to note, that is some ways we can see the influences of the American model, through Thatcher’s affiliation with Reagan, and in more recent times, with our break from Europe, so it is best not to discount that model.

Under each Prime Minister it has taken a slightly different slant. Thatcher portrayed Keynesian economics as interfering with the rights of the 'working man'. She classed Keynesian economics as a working-class reaction to the depression after the Second World War and asserted there was no such thing as the common good, but:

> 'a man's right to work as he will, to spend what he earns, to own his own property, to have the state as servant not as master: these are the British inheritance.' (Thatcher 1975, cited in Hall 2011).

She pushed for individual rights; be self-employed, be a shareholder, buy your own council house. She started to remodel society along neoliberal lines (Hall 2011). She was the start of 'conviction politics' (Hall 2011, Vail 2015). Major continued from her reign, with softer convictions. There is little in the literature to separate him from the policies of Thatcher. Sakho (2013) refers to them as the Thatcher-Major policy years. Hall (2011) acknowledges that even her cabinet knew it was not to last, leading to Major's time in office, but he does not document anything of note. In a bid to govern, Blair took neoliberalism to the left through Giddens' (2000) 'third way'[8], in an acknowledgement of the 'unstoppable advance of market forces' (cited in Hall 2011). 'New Labour' transformed neoliberalism into 'managerial marketization', known as New Public Management (NPM) or New Managerialism, will be discussed further, but for now, the mantra of New Labour was to take a light touch regulation to the public sector through the marketization of public services and publicly funded organisations. Like Major, Brown (Blair's successor) did little to change the course of neoliberalism under his government (Hall 2011). But the success of government practices under neoliberalism was starting to crack and Brown was not seen as popular. What followed was the Conservative- Liberal Democrat coalition (2010-

[8] This book by Giddens, was about social democracy and its relation to the state. A chapter was devoted to the role of state and the role of economy, it stated that there needed to be a balance, and neither could dominate. Tony Blair used this is his vision for New Labour.

2015). Under Cameron's leadership they brought in an austerity budget, blaming New Labour for overspending, and positioning themselves as 'caring' to differentiate them from the individualized principles of Thatcher, but this also meant that they reduced the state budget.

In summary, the prevailing discourses of the successive neoliberal governments have seen various changes to societal values and economic reductions to the state. Thatcher was keen to assert that there was 'no society' so no need for social welfare, and Major carried on this individualized stance of man's right. Blair wished to reinstate public services, but a much more managed and market oriented version. His conviction was one of morality and social discipline, he introduced anti-social behaviour orders (ASBOS), wider surveillance and community policing, and popularized the hard-working taxpayer and 'fortunate' housewife over the scrounging 'welfare type' on benefits (Hall 2011). He was keen for individuals to have access to education. Cameron wished to be seen as caring so asserted the responsibility of the 'big society', to supplement the governmental austerity budget, as budgets usually reserved for children, the aged or the vulnerable were slashed, it fell to the 'big society' to pick up the slack. It is difficult to chart the course of May's government as it is so recent, but articles in the newspapers have focused on neoliberalism. This may not sound unusual, after all it has been in our discourse for decades, however, this discourse is usually framed under other guises, the term neoliberalism is not used in common parlance. But recently it has appeared in our newspapers, and one even asked if this is the end of it (Monbiot 2016). As stated earlier by Foucault (2008) the purpose of using neoliberalism in a cultural form, was not to mention it, but make it part of the fabric of society.

This highlights a change in the discourse, moving from rhetoric of the rights of the hard-working man to a more rounded, more critical view of neoliberalism. Certainly,

the Conservative manifesto put forward in the recent election (in June 2017), was framed around American style policies of neoliberalism, and it is believed this may have led to May's reduced majority. Page (2015) identifies progressive neoliberal conservatism, transforming from neoliberalism. This can be seen in the rise of collectivism, in the guise of religious groups or localism (Brown 2015). Neoliberalism has marched through our society for nearly 40 years and its many guises have brought about many changes in HE. There have been no boundaries as to what can be commoditised and commercialised, and knowledge is no exception. Clarke (2010) refers to the use of neoliberalism as a societilisation. He means it pervades all aspects of our society and has been a huge factor to changes within the public sector and publicly funded organisations. HE has been through many changes as a result of neoliberal policy; these are best characterized as 'massification', 'marketization' and 'new managerialism'. These have led to the examination of 'performativity' and 'professionalism'. Like neoliberalism, these phenomena have been given names, which make them sound of great importance, but they are just concepts which individuals have taken up and applied to how they perform their roles. These concepts will each be explored in turn. I will explore the literature on each of these terms, although it is important to note that there are overlapping themes.

2.3 - Massification of higher education

The existing knowledge tends to see the Robbins (1963) report as the start of the growth of the sector (Bell et al., 2009, Deem 2004, Ainley 2014). The report was commissioned to look at the issue of demand for HE and it concluded there was a need for massive expansion. This could be seen as before the real hold of neoliberalism took place, but its publication was only just before Thatcher came to power. As stated earlier, Thatcher's government, saw Neoliberalism as more than

just economic policy, they saw it as a cultural philosophy. Thatcher took the political ideals of liberalism and applied a market touch to them (Hall 2011). Harvey (2005) states that Thatcher's view went against the elitist traditions as she favoured the market to the elite aristocracy. However, it was Blair's government that put in measures to increase student numbers (BBC News March 1999), as part of an instrumental approach to increasing prosperity through a more educated workforce.

Thatcher's vision was to see accountability in the sector through competition (Weinbren 2013). Blair framed the expansion of the sector as an increase in the bio-power of the population (Foucault 2004), as well as the economic prosperity of the sector. This was more in line with Foucault's analysis of the American neoliberal system, and the importance of human capital (Foucault 2008). The Robbins report traced the increase in numbers for HE places but it did not outline the link to business and the economic imperative of educated workers. It looked at the need for expansion of universities, through demand for universities (Robbins et al. 1963). The 'Robbins principle', was borne out of the report, and this was what Blair capitalized upon. This principle was part of the concluding summary but was not a recommendation. The Robbins principle stated that all those who were able to achieve a degree should have access to a place in HE. This is the ideology of meritocracy and a framing of access (Ball 2013), and still a prevailing ideology within HE. Shattock (2014a) states that this is an inference from the report, not a recommendation. The report contained 178 recommendations, created by what Shattock refers to as a 'balanced committee' (pg. 113). The recommendations predicted a huge increase in numbers, however the political stance that has been taken since the Robbins report has increasingly rested heavily on, not the 178 recommendations, but the guiding principles.

This principle ideology of the Robbins report became a useful vehicle for the neoliberal agenda. Education was investment in the self, to help to learn better technologies of the self, and increase disciplinary power (Foucault 1977). Ball (2013) links this production of knowledge with Foucault's interpretation of the aspiration to improve. He states that Foucault was as much interested in the production of self as he was with production of docility. Docile bodies are educated to understand their role in performance but must also show individuality in their technology of self (Ball 2013).

Halsey, an Oxford scholar present at the launch of the report (Shattock 2014b) forewarned that quality would be impacted, he also stated that academic careers would remain relatively static with those in high regarded institutions, prior to the Robbins report, still being regarded more highly than later established institutions (Halsey 1982). As Shattock concludes in his introduction that 'Robbins did not produce an institutional level playing field' (pg. 107). Although it set out an optimistic vision for the conjectured future of HE (Callendar 2014), the long-term auditing has shown these inequalities to ring true (Shattock 2014b). The Robbins Report framed HE as building the nation's economy through learning (Williams 2013), and despite the warnings of scholars such as Halsey, the ideology was welcomed. The Higher Education Quarterly dedicated a whole issue to a review of this report, and it highlights that such policies are subject to events over time. Robbins had highlighted that HE was a system and therefore worthy of further systematic enquiry (Williams 2013). In Ainley's paper (2014) he asserts that the massification of HE has only increased the use of schooling to a higher age level. The assertion he makes is that by expanding this system, within a network of other systems, which may or may not be subject to change themselves, there will be long term consequences, some not the ones intended or projected by the report. As the competitive nature (market-led) of neoliberalism has been a constant frame, then people are themselves competing

against each other. As more people get degrees, more students work to get higher level degrees to make themselves more competitive in this neoliberal market. In essence, we are merely cramming more knowledge in for longer, not creating more talent.

Education is a key area of social control (Ainley 2014) as demonstrated by the use of the statistic NEET (not in education and employment) in the Office of National Statistics (2018) (gov.uk accessed 2018). By keeping the age group of 16-24 in education longer, (now compulsory to eighteen), this is an audit device which helps to reduce the unemployment statistic, another audit device, on which the government is measured. The NEET statistic is seen as more favourable to the unemployment one.

These surveillance measures used by the government (Foucault 2009) show a less favourable, rather than the more aspirational, rhetoric of giving opportunities to more people. Later on, in Chapter three the mechanisms of how performance is managed in HE is further explored. In chapter three this is done through the use of published data, but here, in this chapter, the use of such statistics shows us that this fits into a wider governmental picture. The rhetoric of 'massification' does not quite fit with the reality.

The massified approach to classrooms has been explored by many (Hornsby and Osman 2014, Arvanitakis 2014, Hughes 2015). All these authors explore the challenges to teaching under such a regime. They focus on the issue, to improve the teaching to give the standards of critical thinking and improved conceptual understanding. This is an aspirational and performative view. The literature does not explore the realities of how this is handled in day-to-day practice. Altbach (2016) explores massification of HE as a global phenomenon part of globalization, and

draws on this phenomenon as one that brings other issues to HE. He asserts that it is now central to society, but this brings challenges of management and accountability, as the growth has led to issues of quality and also competition. This has led to greater levels of marketing by institutes, as governments can no longer sustain the funding. The discourse also highlights that the population wants more HE as it is framed as the route to a better life. These issues have inevitably impacted on the everyday lives of academic staff, and these themes will be further explored in the following sections. The first to be explored is marketization.

2.4 - Marketization of higher education

As the message of greater demand for HE progressed, so did the need for a different structure of sustainability. Advocates of the marketization process say it will make education more efficient and effective (Furedi 2011). He claims:

> 'The expansion of the market into the lecture hall, will provide better value for money and ensure that the university sector will become more efficient and more responsive to the needs of society, the economy, students and parents. The policy-driven term 'marketization' is fundamentally an ideological one.' (Furedi, 2011, pg. 1)

The expansions of the market, or the 'marketization' were about embracing the idea of competition in HE. Universities have always had to compete. This was mainly for resources, staff and research funding, but by opening up the student numbers and creating a demand led institutional growth, demanded by students themselves, it is seen to have altered the relationship between student and educator (Furedi 2011).

Neoliberalism is framed as keeping the state role as to create a framework within which the market can operate effectively (Harvey 2005). Creating a market led

education system has led to a change in the way the state is involved. Keyensian governmental practices were about intervention, but neoliberalism is about letting the market decide (Foucault 2008). Neoliberal governments publish figures to enable the 'customer' to choose for themselves. The practice of funding directly to reward what governments saw as good practice has been changed to a practice of providing data for the consumer to make an informed choice. As individuals invest in their own learning they take on loans or pay for higher education themselves, the data provided through such devices as league tables is seen as a mechanism to inform choice.

Brown (2011) states that the consumer of HE is free to choose on price, quality and availability, but this is not strictly true as all three have been heavily regulated. Massification has opened up the market to all, not just the elite. The early elite market was not open to the 'negative impact of competition' (Foskett, 2011, pg. 26). Fosket is keen to emphasise that the market has always been part of HE but due to the elite nature of it, it was only operating in a niche market. The market it served was the British establishment. This limited the need to aggressively market it, as the elitist nature of its market meant that access was a privilege in itself. Competition was about getting in to the market not competing within it. As already stated, this did not mean that there was no competition, but it was not overt, or aggressive, it was protected from this. Foskett (2011) claims that the domesticated market he is writing about was protected by government. He does not provide detail of this as his paper is exploring the concept of marketization. It is not the remit of this thesis to give a detailed history of the systems used, but to show that HE has been subjected to many systems and processes through such concepts as marketization. Foskett also refers to HE as a quasi-market, thus illustrating how the concept of marketization is linked to managerialism; it is regulated, not left entirely to market forces.

The use of language discourse has already been mentioned in the growth of neoliberal ideology. Such language use in social practice led the way for the market expansion in higher education. Marketization refers to how it was sold to the public. This performative use of language was highlighted by Austin (1962) in his work on 'How to do Things with Words'. It has also been explored by Fairclough (2010), within the arena of HE. Fairclough studied the use of advertising within HE. He concluded that this has left many academics feeling immobilized by old, perhaps outdated, traditions, by a new language that they find distasteful and do not trust (Fairclough 2010). This is the point Williams (2013) makes about distrusting the market. Academics feel uncomfortable using the new language, although this assumes that all academics fit the same homogenous identity. For many it does not fit with their view of higher education.

The language has set a performative function for the institution, thus creating competing ideologies that staff feel they have to negotiate a path through. As stated earlier, in Newman's initial 'Idea of a University' he saw the university as there for public good, it was a place of great thinking, facilitated by the church, but he cautioned against specializing, he said it was about disseminating knowledge, not advancing it. It rounded people to become better thinkers (Newman 2015, originally 1873). This is considered to be the main view of the purpose of universities, prior to neoliberal discourse (Williams 2011). Ironically as discourse in consumerism has grown, students and academics engage in a game, where both are looking for this ideological view. Students seem to see the answer of how to get there, to be by demanding greater satisfaction from academics in their practice (Williams 2011). This portrays them as passive recipients of knowledge that will lead to greater prosperity. This idea is at odds with the traditional model of the dissenting academic. The instrumentalist view is one of power through the state, whereas the more traditional one is one of a power debate (Williams 2013). Once again, the student

body is seen as a homogenous group, one entity. Williams (2013) provides a whole chapter on the different types of identity that are present in the discourses, thus unveiling her perception that this homogenous group is an easy marketing tool in itself.

The more there has been a demand for student satisfaction, the more scrutiny that HE has been under. There is more pressure on statistics to show that the university is prominent and of quality, and worthy of consumer choice. It needs to be seen as a marketable place to study, or a place to invest in research, and further framings consider it as needing to be both. Governments and multi-lateral agencies such as the Organisation of Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the World Bank have increasingly influenced views of choice in the HE markets through endless reports and tables to show its worth (OECD.org, accessed December 2017, Worldbank.org, accessed December 2017).

This form of surveillance is framed as advisory to the university, the public and the consumer, but it is the government exercising its influence (Foucault 2008). League tables are perhaps the most prolific and well known of these reports, and especially relevant in a discussion about marketization. These are published for all, and easily accessible, but also a politically fraught process (Jobbins 2002). Wilkins and Huisman (2012) note that business degrees have expanded more than any other area and their place in the rankings is often used in marketing to potential students. At present league tables seem to be the predominant data source of the student as customer. League tables are used both to defend and also to sell, depending on how the rankings are perceived.

Nedbalova et al. (2014) highlight the disparity between the literature on marketization of HE and the marketing for HE. The first tends to be seen as evil, the second tends

to be done by those from a marketing discipline applying marketing principles but with no awareness of the literature on the phenomenon of marketization. Nedbalova et al. (2014) go on to illustrate that marketization implies economic market theories. This is not entirely true as, up until now, governments have regulated numbers and also (still do) cap fees. The recent introduction of the Teaching Excellence Framework (TEF) (hefce.ac.uk, accessed August 2017) has been a chance to provide another legitimate governmental source of consistent information. It is acknowledged that this causes tensions, but there is limited literature or evidence of the realities of the TEF on Universities as yet. It is framed by BIS (Department of Business Innovation and Skills) (2015) in their white paper, as changing the behavior of providers (cited in Cruickshank 2016), to orient the student and the paper states this gives them an informed choice as to where they can go.

Cruikshank (2016) puts forward a number of criticisms that demonstrate the complexity of this metric, and again show how its introduction only serves to undermine other aspects of HE. He argues that a higher value will be put on some subjects and that students' ratings in the present may affect the degree of those in the past, thus potentially undermining the value of the degree. This in turn influences the regulation of cost which could be changed by the ratings. This creates the problem already highlighted which is that once again, it will not be a level playing field, as this model has been framed as for-profit. Cash rich universities will be able to invest more, and then raise their scores. Once again, the uneven market model will create further gaps. This is a rather broad and reductive explanation but for the purposes of the thesis, it is an example of how such marketized practices further erode the traditional model of the public good and create tensions within the sector. Wood and Su (2017) found in their study of academic perceptions of excellence, that there was disparity across the different academics they interviewed as to what this meant. They concluded that the term was meaningless. These practices of

governmentality will be explored in more detail under the banner of 'New Managerialism'.

The idea of the student as consumer was consolidated into the culture by the Teaching and Higher Education Act 1998, which introduced the concept of fees, as student became paying customers. This is still regulated, but this was a defining moment in the discourse and action, as from this point on students paid their own fees and the idea of free higher education was gone. Many students and academics protested against this at the time and continue to do so. There is a strong link between marketization and managerialism which can be seen in the next section. Many of the measures, which are used to ascertain the strength of HE also allow the student to decide which university is better for them. They are the discerning customer, they choose where to spend their money and if the investment in their education is worth it. Here we see the purer version of neoliberalism, but this is regulated by HEFCE (Higher Education Funding Council of England), who offer guidelines on implementation and have the right to affect fees if they feel that 'satisfaction' (whatever measure that might be) is not high enough. It is evident that the marketization and managerialism crossover is high and that the mechanisms work together.

Lynch (2015) draws the link between marketization and managerialism and also acknowledges the global nature of the competition. She notes that whilst there is reason to see the detriment from such practices, the public was largely unsympathetic to the changes in HE as it has not always been upstanding in its moral duty anyway. Prior to outside regulation it had not upheld its social duty by giving priority to issues of equality, in fact it was seen to uphold current structures in an effort to protect its own (Lynch 2015). This echoes Ball's (2013) assertion that education is framed as equality. Lynch goes on to illustrate that the idea of ranking

was seen as neutral, even though its usage is now seen as highly political. Like much of the literature Lynch is polemical in her standpoint, which in itself is problematic, in establishing 'the facts'. By contrast Collini (2017) is equally polemic in his defense of elitism as a form of higher learning. With the increase in marketization there is a perceived need to manage institutions better.

2.5 - New managerialism in higher education

'New Public Management' or 'New Managerialism' is an area of change within HE which has attracted a lot of attention. Deem (2004) describes this as 'a set of ideologies about organisational practices and values used to bring about radical shifts in the organisation, finances and culture of public services such as local government, health or education.' (page 109). Politicians use these ideologies to refer to the modernisation of services, but it is unclear exactly what these ideologies are. However, when put together they become the term known as 'New Public Management', or 'New Managerialism'. Deem et al. (2007) explored managerialism as an ideological concept from the academic-manager perspective. As a result of an Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) funded project at Lancaster University, they define three stages to the managerialist agenda starting with 'Corporatist Managerialism' after the first world war, leading to 'Neoliberal Managerialism' from the 1970's until New Labour altered it to 'Technocratic Managerialism'. Rather than being a set of ideologies, here they can be read as an ideology that has evolved and adapted. Deem et al. (2007) charts the adaptive process. Neo-corporatist managerialism is described as 'an inherently unstable and uneasy blend of Keynesian economic policy, state welfarism, political pluralism and industrial tripartism, and Fordist style management.' (pg7) This led to a professional bureaucracy where power of decision-making was seen to lie with the professionals, or public servants. Duncan (2001) explains that this led to a view from government that the professionals had too much power, and policies were put in place to

decouple this view of professional knowledge, leading to public service militancy and the rise of Thatcherite ideals and neoliberal managerialism. Deem et al. (2007) states that this was the rise of distancing from the bureaucratic elite and an emphasis on market forces as an indicator of success.

The third adaptation of neoliberalism, technocratic managerialism, was politically engineered by the labour party, who recognized that they would not be re-elected on its old values, so created 'New Labour' influenced by the work of Giddens (2000) and his political idea of a 'third way'. Sahko (2013) states that Blair used this to try and bring labour's values and neoliberalism under the same umbrella. This adaptation put the emphasis on metrics rather than market (Deem 2004). This was a broad control system through managerial techniques.

To summarise these forms of managerialism; neocorporatism was a power play between bureaucracy and profession, neoliberal managerialism saw the state as considerably less involved, putting an emphasis on market forces with a subtle blend of management techniques and technocratic managerialism was a return to more intrusive state intervention with detail at the micro-management level. There have been further evolutions to the neoliberal ideology since then. The coalition government made waves back to marketization referring to student 'choice' (Stedman Jones, 2012). The coalition government and subsequent conservative government used the economic situation to return to more Thatcherite principles under the guise of austerity measures. Once again market forces prevailed and there was a significant scale back of public funding (Vail, 2015). The discourse of such measures was in blaming previous governments and being 'forced' into cutbacks. (Hall, 2011). Market forces became the prevalent agenda in HE. So far there is little to say about May's stance, however her election promises made at the last conservative party conference did mention restriction on overseas students and

did not mention further funding. This is similar to Cameron's stance on one-nation, as asserted by Vail (2015) but her discourse is more open on this, in light of the Brexit vote (Elgot, 2016).

It is important we note Hall's point (2011) that neoliberalism has many variations, as discussed above. Not only in the UK but in other countries, as initially highlighted by Foucault (2008). These variations also evolve and change over time. In the UK the target of change through neoliberalism was primarily the welfare state (Hall, 2011) and the scaling back of public funding. Whilst neoliberalism is used as an umbrella term for all, it has really been through a number of ideological turns.

> 'Ideology is always contradictory. There is no single, integrated 'ruling ideology' – a mistake we repeat again now in failing to distinguish between conservative and neoliberal repertoires. Ideology works best by suturing together contradictory lines of argument and emotional investments – finding what Laclau called 'systems of equivalence' between them. Contradiction is its métier.' (Hall, 2011, Page 18)

As this quote demonstrates, it is difficult to define the logic and success of neoliberal ideology and the impact of managerialism. Lynch (2014) calls this the organizational arm of neoliberalism. There is a recognition of a changing state of neoliberalism, often reliant on the emotional reactions of the population and subsequent government discourse and policy (re)production. There is recognition of its prevalence in HE, indicated by the many papers written on the subject, but it is difficult to define this due to the constantly changing nature of the sector. Lynch (2014) asserts it is wrong for us to see new managerialism as 'a unitary whole' (Pg1), but equally asserts it is not an ideology, even if it is borne out of one. This is evidenced in the fact that many different Western countries have implemented it,

even though they are politically different. However, she goes on to say it is not neutral which is somewhat contradictory. As managerialism is aligned with neoliberalism it uses models and measures similar to the ones in marketization, thus undermining traditional principles of professionalism or learning. Managerialism has been done like this with varying degrees of success, and in various ways as is consistently seen through the published papers. Deem et al (2007) note in their study of UK universities that the implementation of managerial tactics by middle academic-managers is 'reluctant', even in post 1992 universities. They also note that some senior managers have aligned themselves with their management role, but this often means they are seen as very distant from the academic staff and students that they manage. Deem et al (2007) also asserts that the tensions in these academic-management hybrid roles has always been present in higher education, however effects of neoliberalism, such as massification and marketization, and the rise in technology causing greater performativity has increased these effects making them more noticeable, and the tensions more pronounced.

If consideration is given to new managerialism as the arm of neoliberalism that fits with Foucault's (2008) view of governmentality, there is a need to examine the ways in which governmental measurement has produced a more 'docile' higher education (Foucault 1977). One that will fulfill its civic duty by adhering to the realms of measurement subjected upon it. The British system of higher education is regulated by a number of bodies; the Scottish Funding Council (SFC) and The Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE), The igher Education Funding Council for Wales (HEFCW) and the Department for Employment and Learning, Northern Ireland (DEL). These bodies extract information from their universities, provide minimal funding in return, but also produce statistics and rankings which are published for public consumption, then used for principles of marketing, as already stated. These bodies work together and also separately to produce a number of

reports which are then publicly accessible to provide surveillance of the state and provide status to universities in England, Scotland and Wales. The TEF, previously mentioned, which is a new measurement of teaching excellence, started in 2016 was published in 2017. So far it has been framed as voluntary. However, to opt out of participating is a deeply political process so this is unlikely to happen. In time this will have an impact on fees (HEFCE 2017) as it allows funding councils to cap the fees that institutions apply to their courses. This goes against the ideology of neoliberalism in that the market should decide the fees; thus eluding to the issue that some have highlighted that HE a quasi-market environment (Brown, 2011). A more long-standing regulatory practice which is organised jointly by all the funding councils is the Research Excellence Framework (REF) (ref.ac.uk accessed August 2017). This replaced the previous Research Assessment Exercise (RAE), both the RAE and the REF took and take place every 5 years. This is a large governance process with the aim of providing 'accountability for public investment' but also to 'provide benchmark information and establish reputational yardsticks' (ref.ac.uk, accessed August 2017).

The REF is a complicated assessment process looking at a number of factors, such as how many publications are produced, of what quality and what impact they have. (ref.ac.uk, accessed August 2017). Some of the measures for each of these are in themselves complex and politically fraught. Nichol (2013) makes the point that universities decide whom they put forward but can lose good talent if academics do not get included. The REF can be seen to affect academic careers but including the wrong returns could lead to the loss of revenue of the institute as it is a reputational tool, and therefore affects future funding allocation. This is what leads academics to play a game about what they publish so that they can secure their careers (Lucas 2006). Assessments such as the REF shape the direction of HE research. Publications will focus on what is seen as impactful which is easier in some subjects

than others. Shortt et al. (2016) argues this is inappropriate in social sciences as impact may not be a linear process. In terms of the TEF, the assessment itself puts pressure on universities to satisfy their students, and to give them better results and employment opportunities. Both the REF and the TEF are surveillance tools which Foucault (1977) would argue are administrative tools used to provide disciplinary structure to how research and teaching are seen. Drawing on Lyotard's (1984) notion of performativity, which is explored later in this chapter, Todd et al (2015) note that such metrics are used by universities to create fabrications of themselves, which will be acceptable to the consumer. These fabrications are vital for their survival but also help them to avoid further scrutiny from the public gaze. This is further explained is chapter three.

2.6 - Summary of massification, managerialism and marketization

This chapter has looked at the predominant and traditional views of HE. It has looked at the ideology of a liberal education and the ideology of instrumentalism. These are two traditional views of HE. There is an acknowledgement that there are other views, but for the purpose of this study, these two views are the dominant ones considered.

The chapter then goes on to explore the ideology of neoliberal government and how this has influenced the journey of HE in the last 30 years. The three areas focused on so far are massification, marketization and managerialism and there are many publications which focus on change in HE through these particular concepts. Although all three terms are slightly different in their emphasis there is recognition of the overlap, as they are all part of the same ideology. (Hussey and Smith 2010; Bell, Stevenson and Neary 2009). Even in countries that are not economically driven by neoliberalism there is acceptance of the influence of market driven regulation (Lynch

2015). Whilst a large proportion of the literature is highlighting the problems caused by these influences, there seems to also be widespread acceptance of it, as such, it has become a normalized practice (Lynch 2015). This is evident in HEFCE's latest business plan, which refers to its role as 'intelligent regulator', in that it seeks to improve the success and sustainability of the sector, through providing funding appropriately, regulating access to that funding, and assessing quality across the sector (HEFCE, 2015). This chimes with the view of Hussey and Smith (2010), that this is a naïve economic loop. This ideological stance, that education was the answer to individual economic prosperity, has led to an assumption that being educated will lead to economic prosperity and that therefore those directly affected will have to pay. Whilst there may still be an elite group whose privileges remain unquestioned, there is an extensive industry catering to an extensive market. There is an emphasis on the student experience and student satisfaction, which feeds into the league tables, but as the student to staff ratios get bigger, student satisfaction goes down (Hornsby and Osman 2014).

Lynch (2015) highlights the fact that changes brought about by massification, managerialism and marketization compete with existing values of professionalism creating an effect, which Lyotard (1984) calls performativity. Performativity can be considered as an unintended consequence of neoliberalism.

The concepts of 'professionalism' and 'performativity' will be explored next. Hornsby and Osman (2014) in their review of literature also deduce that large classes lead to less critical thinking as it is difficult to instill these skills in such an environment, thus the rise in performativity. These imposed neoliberal actions have been seen to change aspects of HE. Two noticeable impacts, performativity and professionalism will now be explored, for the effect they have had on university practice. I will start with performativity.

2.7 Impacts of neoliberal ideologies – performativity

In 1984, Lyotard published his work lamenting the impact of performativity. He called it the postmodern condition. Lyotard (1984) saw that the mechanisms applied to how we learn were changing, partly as a result of marketization, but also as a result of technology. Lyotard saw that the legitimisation of knowledge had changed. The grand narrative was less credible since the world wars. Science was moving towards greater and more complex methods of arguing and proving points. As everything became more marketized, so did research This meant that without funding, there was no real point in pursuing arguments. Here Lyotard likened it to the industrial revolution; technology led to wealth, but wealth was needed in order to invest in technology.

> 'It is more the desire for wealth than the desire for knowledge that initially forced upon technology the imperative for performance improvement and product realization. The 'organic' connection between technology and profit preceded its union with science. Technology became important to contemporary knowledge only through the mediation of a generalized spirit of performativity.' (Lyotard 1984, pg. 45)

Lyotard goes on to observe that in capitalist society, private companies, who can get results and commercialize them, invest in research funding. He makes the link between performativity and proof, and therefore power. Things that are seen as marketable and easy to perform are more likely to get funding, they are legitimised.

Science and law are seen as efficient and useful and therefore 'good performativity', whereas other subjects are not as legitimate. Lyotard observed a shift from education as an idea of emancipation, or great thinking, to education being the source of skills for the social contract. It is no longer the pursuit of the liberal elite, but more the function to provision for professional training. Lyotard notes this is rooted in the language, which is legitimised. The discourse has changed (Foucault 1972).

Lyotard's (1984) work introduces an interesting proposition; he talks of his hypothesis but does not seem to offer any evidence that he has tested this notion. Nevertheless, it has become a popular theory for use in academic papers on HE.

Leathwood and Read (2013) highlight issues within research policy in the UK, which has created a 'grants culture'. Morley (2003) drew attention to the nature of research working for income generation over a decade ago, but the march of the market prevails. Mingers and Wilmott (2013) refer to the mechanisation of research through the use of rankings highlighting the shaping of research towards a homogenous set of researchable methods and subjects. They refer to the marginalization of innovation, as subjects are pushed to be more impactful and less exploratory. Todd et al. (2015) express concern for the viability of social science research in Canada, as areas such as diversity and social work are not seen to make money and are therefore not as impactful as other areas.

Learning must now be of demonstrable value to the individual or to society. This is echoed by Humberstone et al (2013), who note that student satisfaction is not driven by their understanding of enlightenment, but by its link to external success and grades.

Performativity has increased its reach beyond the areas of knowledge of value. Performativity is also evident in how academics must behave. Lynch (2010) alludes to the audit culture and the need to measure. This requires effort, time is taken up by academics demonstrating their ability to measure. Broadfoot (1998) relates this to grade inflation, as the numbers are important; to the student, but also to the institute. Academics must be accountable for their failed students. The measures affect what and how you teach (Carnell 2007). I will now explore the impact of professionalism.

2.8 - Impacts of neoliberal ideologies - professionalism

Williams (2008) highlights that once again, thinking of academia as a profession is an ideology. Both what is considered to be academic and what is to be considered professional are contested and have changed over time. It is not helpful to this thesis to explore those changes, but indeed, recently, this has come to mean 'knowledge worker'. Fanghanel (2012) is keen to call academics disciplined, rather than professional, but as highlighted by Williams (2008) one definition of professionalism is a certificated worker, which is now prevalent amongst new academics. There is a push towards a requirement to do a qualification in teaching practice and all academics are encouraged to be members of the HEA (Higher Education Academy). The HEA holds the UK professional standards for teaching and learning in HE. The latest edition was published in 2011 (HEA 2011). Membership involves submitting continuous professional development (CPD) and increasing your status as an HEA member. The standards that CPD is linked to are called 'professional values'. Fanghanel (2012) elucidates to the difficulties of standardizing something as complex as an academic role. The challenges will be very different in different faculties, hence her push to call it 'disciplined'. Her argument is that academic staff are loyal to their discipline rather than to the professional conduct of being an academic.

Fanghanel (2012) states that discipline has been under attack with the standardization and professionalization of HE, this has been from both inside and outside of the academy. Regardless of whether academics see themselves as affiliated to their discipline or as professional academics, most work in disciplines that themselves are seen as professional. Lewis (2014) states that the ideal of professionalism is to be seen as 'respectable, respected, influential, rewarded and working for the good of others,' (Lewis 2014, pg. 45), but he goes on to state that professionals also have multiple roles which they are not entirely able to influence as the role is fluid and open to external factors which affect the environment of the profession. However, the neoliberal gaze has eroded the professional ideal. Calvert et al (2011) found in their qualitative study that staff were well aware of their professional responsibilities but due to the constant competing pressures on their time, felt a 'hardening of the oughteries' (pg. 28) as they are subjected to the slow creep of performance demands. This study was on a group of teacher training academics, who all identified common themes as to what professionalism was, this may not be so simplistic in other areas, for example, a business school has a diverse range of interests.

2.9 - Summary of impacts of neoliberalism

This chapter has explored the literature on HE. It has looked briefly at the larger history to understand where the idea of HE has come from. It has explored the ideal of a liberal education and then looked in more detail at the influence of neoliberalism. This chapter has focused on the key areas of massification, marketization and managerialism. Whilst there may be other unintended outcomes from neoliberalism the chapter has then explored the key points of professionalism and performativity as these are the most prevalent and pervasive. Performativity is leading to

defensiveness about subjects. Collini (2017) is defensive about preserving academia, as his subject is not one valued by the postmodern society. Measures such as 'impact' make it harder for some subjects to progress than others. As Lynch et al. (2012) have stated, this agenda is eroding security for female academics, as the subjects most affected are more likely to be populated by females. This is leading to a sense of precariousness in their identity. Identity aspects valued by academics feel threatened. Most are there for their discipline not for their professional sense as an academic. The next chapter will explore the management of performance. It will start by specifically looking at how this issue manifests in HE, and then will go on to look at a broader conceptual framework of the management of performance, and how a constructivist view applies to HE.

Chapter 3 - The management of performance

3.1 - The management of performance in higher education

The last chapter explored the literature on the influences of policy-change and social change in HE. It looked at the wider context of government views and how performance is viewed and managed within the sector . This chapter reviews in more detail, the management of performance and considers other perspectives of performance management. It starts with a philosophical view, exploring Foucault's (2008) concept of governmentality and then exploring more individual sociological understandings of how individuals manage their performance, such as Goffman's (1959) theory of impression management.

> 'The Art of Government, as becomes apparent in this literature, is essentially concerned with answering the question of how to introduce economy – that is to say the correct manner of managing individuals, goods and wealth within the family (which a good father is expected to do in relation to his wife, children and servants) and of making the family fortunes prosper – how to introduce this meticulous attention of the father towards his family into the management of the state.' (Foucault, cited in Burchell, 1991 pg. 92)

In this quote, Foucault is drawing on historical references and paving the way for a later understanding of this notion. In his book on governmentality, Dean (2010) devotes a whole chapter to neoliberalism and governmentality. Drawing on Foucault's definition, Dean describes how neoliberal governmentality is a reflexive art of government. He highlights how the market led notion leads to a government that exercises what he calls technologies of agency and technologies of performance. This means that behaviours are oriented to agency, so they 'give' the freedom of

choice to the people. Businesses show their performance, or governments gather data on performance in order to inform the technologies of choice. Dean (2010) asserts that the technologies of performance are the most important, but these are influenced by the technologies of agency. Technologies of performance are the production of results for the audit culture, but technologies of agency, are how we produce ourselves as academics or students or some other role within that performance production. These will be further explored in the next section.

As a result of massification various reports have led to various recommendations, which have resulted in increased surveillance of the performance of the sector. As already mentioned earlier in this thesis, this can be seen to start with the Robbins report in 1963 and further reports have also increased the gaze on HE. Notably within these are the following; The Dearing report (1997) which looked at the funding model and the issue of standards, the Leitch review (2004), which looked at the skills of the nation and applied a human capital model, it also started to place quotas on levels of qualifications on the nation, the Browne report (2010), which advocated changes to the funding model (further fees for students) and greater information of choice, to open up the free market and the marketing process, finally the Wolfe report (2011), which put pressure on HEI's to demonstrate employability results (Williams 2013).

Many external measures have been imposed on HE to demonstrate its worth as a sector. I have mentioned the Research Excellence Framework (ref.ac.uk), formerly known as the Research Assessment Exercise, this has been in operation since 1986 (wikipedia.co.uk accessed August 2017) and the Teaching Excellence Framework, which started in 2016, but is still in its infancy (hefce.ac.uk/tef). The REF (ref.ac.uk 2018) describes its purpose as to ensure the 'continuation of world-class, dynamic and responsive research'. Broadly speaking, it is a process of review carried out by

a panel of experts who will assess research based on 34 units of measurement. There are 4 main panels, comprised by discipline, which oversee sub panels. The sub panels again, are based on discipline, but also have international members and research users on them. Universities are then invited to submit examples of what they consider to be their best work which is then scrutinized and rated on a 4-star system. The rating is based on the 34 units of assessment. In the 2014 REF 20% of the overall weighting was based on impact. (Ratcliffe 2014).

The TEF measures universities against a set of standards and ranks them as, bronze, silver or gold, in terms of their teaching. This information is then available to all stakeholders who may wish to use the facilities of these institutions.

Both the REF and the TEF use a complex set of measurements to rank HEI's in terms of the standards. These complex rankings are then simplified for the public. There is also the Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education (QAA), which is an independent body responsible for checking the standards of courses are upheld. Stakeholders can issue a complaint to the committee if they feel that courses are not up to standard. The QAA is responsible for policies around the governance structure within UK HEIs and their transnational partners (qaa.ac.uk accessed August 2017). The standards set by the QAA are to ensure that a degree, masters or any other qualification is the same whichever university you attend, however the awards from the TEF and the league tables infer not all aspects of university life are standardised, thus leading to market principles. There are national and international league tables for both teaching and research. These differentiate between the universities. The Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) is another agency, external from the government that exists to collect data on HE. They publish analytical information, which feeds into the league tables, reviews and parliamentary policy on HE. They

state that they have a 'key role in enhancing the competitive strength of the sector' (hesa.ac.uk accessed August 2017).

Most of the measures of scrutiny have been imposed externally, gathering data on outcomes or results. However, in 2001, HEFCE started The Rewarding and Developing Staff Initiative. This was a chance for universities to put in a bid for money to improve their human resource management (HRM). They also had to explain how they would spend their money and the impact of it. It was a chance for HEFCE to monitor the practices of staff within institutions, not just measure the external institutional measures. A lot of this money has also been used for management development, especially in post 1992 universities (Deem et al 2007). Guest and Clinton (2007) reviewed this and found no link between sophisticated HRM practices and university performance, despite there being a link in other sectors. However, a report just over a year later (Oakleigh Consulting limited 2009) found the initiative to be a huge success. This shows how far the gaze of surveillance has gone. Again, there is evidence of a defensive stance against the results. What follows is a conceptual framework with which to examine the issue of performance management.

3.2 - The management of performance: The broader perspective related to higher education

Foucault (1977) uses the example of the school or the prison to show how people's behaviour is shaped by institutions, but the use of such agencies as mentioned above demonstrate the art of government (Foucault 2008). The school example is used to highlight how disciplinary power works. Foucault (1977) argues that governments and organisations find ways to manage performance through observation. In the classroom or the prison yard, you are noticeable. How an

individual behaves is seen by everybody. This technique of observation or data gathering is used to encourage agents to act in accordance with what is expected and creates 'docile bodies' (Foucault 1977). Another example given is the soldier on parade, who not only wants to conform, but wants to master how best to conform. The power of discipline is his own. Foucault (1977) gives many historical references which demonstrate that disciplinary power is not something only associated with neoliberal government, but his term governmentality is his way of linking this with neoliberalism. This will be further discussed later.

Here we see the use of such techniques applied by external forces to change the institution. Each surveillance measure applies pressure to an aspect of performance, and many aspects of performance are being measured. Teaching, research, the skills of the nation, the ranking of UK universities amongst a global playing field are all measures of governmentality. The gaze is upon the institution to provide an education for the masses and to perform to a satisfactory standard, or preferably above satisfactory.

Gane (2012) uses Foucault's (1977) work on panopticism (highlighted by Bentham's panopticon) to demonstrate what this means in today's society. He likens the issue of surveillance to league tables, increased performance measures and the increase of the audit function in the work environment. He also notes the role of surveillance to increase competition. This is an interesting piece but is a theoretical review, however Morrissey (2013) and Engebretson et al. (2012) have both taken this conceptual framework and applied it to universities, albeit not in the UK. Morrissey (2013) looked at the issue in Ireland, but found it still in its infancy. Engebretson et al (2012) noted the role of personal discipline, or as earlier referred to, technologies of agency. Eckersley et al (2014) question if public services are really monitored through a panoptical approach or a synoptical one. The panopticon is the few

measuring the many, whereas the synopticon is the many measuring the few (Mathiesen 1997). Exams are an example of the few measuring the many, whereas social media is an example of the many measuring the few. Technology allows the views of the many to be fed back into the scrutiny of the few, through such mechanisms as the NSS (national student survey), or social media sites. As we are keen to show our disciplined selves, we are allowing a synoptical approach to be normalised.

Now HE can be seen as both panoptical and synoptical, creating a perfect loop of regulation through surveillance. The competing performance of all of the universities is placed at the centre of the public gaze.

Ball (2013) in his book on Foucault's influence in education likens this process to biopolitics. By creating an education system that hierarchises and normalizes attainment and also behaviour, the education system is designed to be the 'new racism' (Foucault, 2004, pg. 254). By creating a system that grades people, it decides what is good and what is inferior. It creates a system of ranking, which can include or exclude, based on the body and mind of the individual. This has been linked to all aspects of human capital, such as class, race, gender and more (Bourdieu, 1977), which is the neoliberal ideology as asserted by Foucault (2008). But, as Armstrong (2003) notes, the discourses of education are about inclusion, much more than exclusion, even creating outlets such as special education to include those not included in the mainstream system. However, HE sits outside mainstream education. It is the next level. Here, it is more about exclusion, as, although the discourse leads us to believe that massification is about offering higher levels of education to the masses, this is not the case as Ainley (2014) points out. Critics of neoliberalism in HE alert us to evidence of the 'human capital' model

(Williams 2013); the investment in education at this level is to give oneself competitive advantage over others (Ainley 2014).

Gane (2012) links this with post panopticism, drawing on Bauman's (2007) theories, where social pressure and the use of technology push people to manage themselves and govern themselves, willingly pushing themselves into the public gaze to demonstrate their worth. To have capital it is important to be seen, people are now willingly being watched through social media, curating their online presence, putting themselves forward into the gaze of voluntary surveillance tools. The people accept their role as docile bodies (Foucault 1977). Here the government can step back and survey from afar. Simmonds and Webb (2013) have coined the phrase accountability synopticism in their paper on its use in schools in America. Here discourse analysis is used to show how publishing the information helped to brand the school. In a marketised environment like HE, such principles also apply.

Not only can technology allow greater surveillance, but also universities have an increasing technological presence. Hyland (2011) highlights the importance of managing impression online through an examination of homepages in higher education. He demonstrates that some academics use this as a chance to show a more personal aspect of themselves and manage the impression of them as more than just academic. Halliday et al. (2008) studied student perceptions in two universities through questionnaires. The purpose of the study was to examine their perceptions of dramaturgy techniques, such as training, scripting, staging and performing. They found that students want a greater staged performance, and the pressure is on how to act out the role of lecturer to those student expectations, especially as one of the pervasive measures of surveillance is student satisfaction (Goffman 1959). However, the paper perceives lecturers as actors or leaders and students as watchers and followers. This implies a rather passive role, but if we

draw on Foucault's (1977) work on bio-power, this relationship is much more interactive. Individuals draw on their own discipline to manage their bodies and exert power in the dual relationship between the parties. He argued that we all use our own impression management in the power relationship. Foucault's work was entirely theoretical, but others have applied this theoretical lens. Hyland (2011) used the notion of bio-power to look at the synoptic use of academic bios to brand the universities, and Kirkup (2010) and Estes (2012) both used this lens to examine academic blogging. Whilst much of the literature recognizes the use of panopticism, and synopticism, these papers look at it from one perspective, the role of the academic, and while Halliday et al. (2008) have studied this from the perspective of student expectations, this thesis recognizes the importance of understanding the interaction between all parties and its impact on performance.

Performativity (Lyotard 1984) as a concept, asserts that the use of technology has changed knowledge from an ideal to an efficiency measure or a commodity, but also that how we convey this, must be performative (Todd et al 2015).

Having viewed the issue of the management of performance, it is important to provide a framework to understand how the managed will perform.

3.3 – Summary of the management of performance

This chapter has explored how recent governments have imposed performance standards on HE. It has drawn on sociological literature to link technologies of government. Foucault (1977) proposes that the use of such techniques as measurement provide a complex framework for building relations of power. The power is with both the structure set by the external bodies and the agent that performs. Government publications propose that there is a societal pressure for

universities to be seen to provide choice and performance standards that are set. The next chapter will explore how this affects the performance of those members.

Chapter 4 - The performance of the managed

4.1 - Social perspectives of performance related to higher education

Within the ideology of marketization of the HE sector there is the discourse of student choice through competition. This means that brand management is important to the organisations and therefore lecturers and academic staff need to 'impression manage' their own personal brands.

Drawing on Goffman (1959) as earlier alluded to, this means using dramaturgical techniques. Goffman (1959) argues that we play a part, in an understanding of everything we do, where we play to our audience, with knowledge of their expectations and therefore we act knowingly. He asserts that individuals can either fully believe in these acts they perform, or perform them in a cynical, but knowing way. Nevertheless, individuals enter each situation with knowledge of what is expected of them and act accordingly. We also have a 'front' (pg. 32) in which to act. This means that our performance is staged to the circumstance within which it is set. In a lecture theatre, the lecturer will see the podium, the equipment and the seats for the students as the set that is then used to fashion the performance desired for this setting. Goffman (1959) asserts that when someone takes on the role of lecturer the front has already been established, and that they enter that with knowledge of what to do. From a management perspective this established role is set out in a job description, but the performance of that role is then interpreted by the individual and enacted. With the growing influence of managerialism and marketization, people enact their roles to show understanding to the audience, albeit managers, students or external bodies to which they are accountable. However, the front may be different for different audiences and in a complex role, such as an academic it may be difficult to choose which setting to adhere one's words and actions to, as there may be

competing aspects of those roles. The performance for one role may not be the same as the performance for another. Goffman (1959) explains that regions are the bounded location of perception. This can be spatial, such as a lecture theatre where the space defines the performance. Regions can also be the bounded expectation of an individual or a group; when two individuals or groups come together there is a reliance on what Goffman (1959) refers to as teams. In order for the performance to be seen as correct there is a need for all members of that team to have an agreement as to what the performance is.

In such situations choosing the front is not entirely in the control of the individual. Likewise, there may be times when there are competing fronts which push the individual to align with one group over another (Goffman 1963). The individual may try to control what information goes to whom to avoid being discredited in terms of his/her social identity.

A growing use of surveillance in society means that information control is harder and therefore competing roles may have to be played out together. The choice of performance may also be compromised. As organisations increase surveillance, they remove the back-office area, the quiet spaces to manage information control.

For example, it is important for the student to see a polished and comprehensive understanding of a lecture that is performed, but this requires a space to build up that knowledge or create the slides that allow for that polished performance. The putting together of such slides and the rehearsal of the lecture require a back-office space to keep that performance authentic to the audience. Such an area allows for private demonstrations of confusion, which will not stigmatise the social identity of the lecturer (Goffman 1963). Goffman gives the example that an attentive student may work so hard to appear attentive; they may forget to listen at all as they are so busy

creating their social front[9]. (1959, pg. 42) If this is related to the learned academic, they may not be able to learn more as this may involve demonstrating a lack of knowledge and Goffman gives many examples of how the impression given up front may be the opposite of what has actually happened.

As more space in the HEI's becomes public, such demonstrations of unpolished performance become harder to do within the workspace. This affects the credibility of the identity of the lecturer. Part of the social contract between the lecturer and the audience is that expected characteristics are adhered to. The lecturer is not a person, in the eyes of the audience, it is an accomplished identity. The establishment of credibility of this identity is done through continuous performance of that identity based on the social expectation of the audience. Sustaining an impression without being able to break from it is problematic.

This may be an idealized performance, but the audience has an expectation, and that is what the lecturer will try and adhere to. This means that as more space is public, the lecturer must look knowledgeable and engaged in their work more than if there was private space to go to, to relax from this identity. The use of technology also requires further levels of performance expectation. With so many competing expectations there is a need to create many performances for the gaze of the unrelenting stakeholder spectators. Idealised performances will be created by such mechanisms as described earlier, such as ratings and rankings. Anything that does not fit with the stereotypical idealized view of performance will be seen to stigmatise the performance (Goffman 1963). Such things as stumbles, confusion, or even lack of control over the body, can be seen to stigmatise performance. Goffman (1959) is also clear that this is the performance of our social selves, not an act. Whilst the

[9] He actually got this example from Sartre, Being and Nothingness (London: Metheun, 1957)

language used here implies a level of conscious deception, Goffman (1959) was keen to point out that is rarely the case, it is more an adherence to social practice ideals. If these social ideals are contested, which they may be within the audience, the presenter may change footing to show a change of alignment (Goffman 1981). This will be further explored.

It is also worth noting that how managers perform their academic role is also likely to be contained in a social ideal from academic members also (Deem et al 2007). This means that for the smooth running of the university it is also important for academic managers to understand how their performance is construed. As already stated, management is seen as a reluctant necessity (Deem et al 2007).

These issues can be related to Butler's ideas of performativity. She claims, similar to Goffman, that we cannot really create our own performances as many aspects are already created for us, such as expectation of 'look' or 'manner'. These expectations have already been created.

> 'I did not arrive in the world separate from a set of norms that are lying in wait for me, already orchestrating my gender, race and status, working on me, even as a pure potential, prior to my first wail. So, norms, conventions, institutional forms of power, are already acting prior to any action I may undertake, prior to there being an "I" '(Butler 2015, pg. 6).

Butler brings into our conscious thought the fact that our lives have to some extent been mapped out by expectations of such ideals before we even start to consider our own agency. Butler's work has predominantly focused on the bodily limitations, such as sex and race. Lyotard (1984) looked at this in terms of organizational behaviour,

specifically in HE. He highlighted how systems made some behaviours more successful than others and also some knowledge more valuable than other. This accounts for the erosion of status of the liberal arts and also highlights the relationship between Foucault's (1977) theories on the creation of docile bodies, and the effect of the creation on expected performance as alluded to by Butler (2015).

Criticisms of Goffman's early work (1959), seeing it's overreliance on performance, have led to works such as Butler to fill that gap. However, Goffman also examined the issue of the shared role of participation and built theories to demonstrate that interaction makes the presentation of self more precarious as it relies on the shared understanding, and a willingness of others or a number of parties, of engaging in the creation of the shared vision of how the performance is to go. From this he built the idea of a participation framework (Goffman 1981), recognizing that interactions tended to be ritualized, to create this participation framework, which could then be embedded into the structure of shared performance. Individuals will enter into these situations and use such tools to manage their performances.

Zareva (2013) looked to find a link between performance and identity, and found correlations between authenticity and autonomous work, showing that those who were able to act more naturally were more likely to be seen as 'authentic' in their presentations. This study was of students and their participations within their course, not amongst academics, but this could arguably be considered to count in classroom settings. This links with Goffman's (1981) assertions that lectures are preferred to be 'fresh talk' (pg. 172) over read from a script. The more natural the presentation is seen to be, the better. If it is rehearsed and recited it may be seen as staged.

Work by Hyland (2011), has shown that academics do like to show their authentic side in their presentations online, he linked this to Foucault's (1972) theory of

competency discourses. Academics were more likely to deviate from the organizational script if they felt experienced enough to do so. If they had built up their academic identity, they were more likely to elaborate on it. 'Fresh talk' (Goffman, 1981) is easier if you have built up competence and confidence.

These uses of such theories show how individuals can build their identity to be a stronger performer, however there is also evidence of the opposite. Butler (2015b) reflects on the role of neoliberalism and how it is framed as building up responsible individuals. Self-sufficiency is framed as a moral imperative. Upstanding citizens are those that are self-sufficient. But, as Butler notes, this discourse is contested by the actions of economic power, often leaving individuals incapable of self-sufficiency and therefore dispensable, no longer creditable in the discourses of society. Feola (2014), draws on Butlers work to highlight the precarious nature of identity in the neoliberal world of work.

> 'the contemporary labor market has transformed the status of the worker – from an agent who enjoys security of lifelong employment to one whose material welfare hinges upon a series of temporary contracts, and whose future thus twists in uncertainty' (Feola 2014, pg. 130).

Alderman (2010) alludes to this issue in HE. As permanent contracts have become harder to obtain, so it is easier to relate to Butler's view of the unseen, we become vulnerable, as our precarious selves move from the model of secure, to a model of vulnerable. Butler's theory of performativity states that how we act out who we are, based on what we are born as, our sex, race, and other aspects predetermines how we behave, as our behavior is already predetermined by the social expectations. Precarity, may be about changes in the discourse but this will then in turn affect the predetermined behavior, as that is used to create power relations, something that

Foucault alludes to, but does not explain through people, but through the systems they use (Foucault 1977).

Goffman (1981) shows this with his use of footing. This is an expression to describe how interaction is orientated. Whilst engaging in participation frameworks academics are likely to enter the interactions from a number of footings. They may bring in aspects of various identities to add some credence to their identity, some of these will be related to their work, they may also use their gender, experience or other aspects to build up their profile. Footing could be related to a competency discourse, a feminist discourse, or another discourse. This is brilliantly demonstrated in Goffman's example of President Nixon's conversation with a female journalist. Nixon, in the powerful position of president, is put under pressure by a female journalist. Feeling threatened by her questions, he changes his footing from a participation framework of president and journalist interaction, to one of male and female interaction, by remarking on her choice of clothing. (Goffman 1981). He used his male power to force her into a position of domesticity as a female, as his occupational identity was under threat.

Goffman (1981) has shown that we will engage with a number of footings to create a sense of power, or credibility. This is all part of social interaction and the participation framework that participants engage in. Levinson (1988) prefers to call this technique participant role, rather than footing. Both Levinson (1988) and Bolden (2013) have criticized Goffman's interaction work for being largely theoretical, not empirical. Levinson (1988) does say that this is due to the new nature of the theory. Bolden (2013) does go on to apply this, using tools such as conversational analysis which will be explored later.

In his essays on interaction ritual, Goffman (1967) explores the role of deference and demeanor between individuals. He states that this is part of the participation framework, and again requires both parties to show compliance with what is understood to be the status. Footing shows how individuals can change those rules to enact power relations. This makes it sound like it is planned, but as Butler (2015) asserts this may be more ingrained than a conscious decision. This is also something that Goffman (1959) points out in his early work, when he states that a young American middle-class girl 'plays dumb' for her boyfriend, this is not necessarily contrived, as she is a young American middle-class girl.

There are strong links in social science research between the issue of performance and identity as is noted in the literature on footing. This leads to an examination of the social perspectives of identity.

4.2 - Social perspectives of identity related to higher education

From the examination of social perspectives of performance, we can see that identity is very much linked to our social understanding of how we see ourselves. When an individual talks about their identity there is a tendency to consider identity as something that is unique to them as individuals, but theories such as have been used in the previous section, demonstrate the aspects of identity that are socially produced. Goffman's (1959) example of 'playing dumb' is an illustration of this. It is not that the young woman is pretending not to know something, or deliberately giving a false impression, she is conforming to her social role. Lawler (2008) refers to identity as 'slippery' (pg. 1) as although we all understand the semantics of the word, it is not really a stable concept. Hall (2016) refers to the forming of collective identities, which are often studied, in terms of national or professional groups, but as we have already seen in the previous chapter, professional identities change over

time. Williams (2011) sees identity as directly drawn from lived experience and is drawn into the cultural fabric of what is shared, once again emphasising the shared nature of how individuals see themselves. Foucault (1979) sees identity as linked to power and knowledge, and created through technologies of self, as already alluded to earlier. This review has already touched on this aspect of discourse, and how it is shaped in the understanding of groups of people, but when it is considered in terms of identity, these discourses impact on how people see themselves. This is well illustrated in Foucault's (1979) work on how individuals identify with their sexuality. What they identify with will also be framed by society.

C. H Cooley (1902) (cited in Rawls and Duck 2017) refers to the 'looking glass self'. This is similar to the issue that Foucault refers to, but he is more explicit. He states that our understanding of our self is driven by how others see us. How people interact with us affects how we interact with them and this becomes a part of our identity. From a young age, individuals learn to be different around different people. They interact differently with their mother than with their friends. They also learn to formulate thoughts and performances based on how others appear to perceive them, and therefore react to them (Cooley 1983, cited in O'Brien 2011). Mead (1934 cited in O'Brien, 2011) wrote along a similar line of thinking:

> 'Over against the "me" is the "I". The Individual not only has rights, but he has duties; he is not only a citizen, a member of the community, but he is one who reacts to this community and in reaction to it, as we have seen in the conversation of gestures, changes it. The "I" is the response of the individual to the attitude of the community as this appears in his own experience. His response to that organized attitude in turn changes it.' (pg. 125)

Mead's (1934, cited in O'Brien, 2011) philosophy is that individuals react to how things are presented to them within society. O'Brien (2011) highlights that social psychology asserts that people play different social roles, but they don't necessarily identify all those roles as aspects of the self. She asserts that the more individuals do things, the more they see it as part of their identity. When this is applied to work, the more it is done, the more it becomes part of identity. O' Brien states that she sees herself as a teacher, as this is something she has done for a long time. Foucault (1979) sees the framed discourses and the changes imposed on education as a way of changing that identity.

Winter and O'Donoghue (2012), refer to the tensions in the academic identity. They surveyed academics and found there were differences in how academics saw themselves, and this led to tensions within the academy. However, there was a strong theme that educational thinking should stand above market attitudes. Henkel (2005) states that only a handful of the most prestigious universities have been able to sustain their 'old' academic identity. In her study of identity, she found that the most important aspect of identity that academics valued, was their discipline and their academic freedom. Even where research projects are driven by funding, changes in interest do not really occur. This is a point Sheridan (2013) expands on, she concludes that academic disciplines, in terms of their research, tend to draw on something personal to the discipline. Sutton (2015) asserts that there is an identity dilemma between fatalism and utopia. Winter (2009) talks about identity schisms and the importance of understanding academic identity or ending with a demoralized workforce. Broadbent (2011) highlights this as a troubling issue for academic managers, as Deem (2004) has dubbed them. They are hybrid managers, they have a specialism and they also manage. She highlights the need for them to traverse the path of both. Davies (2014) reports this as a particular issue for business school deans, who feel the pressures considerably.

Collini (2017) rather disparagingly makes the point that post 1992 universities have aspired to the higher academic status, but no higher status university has lowered its idea of identity. Lynch (2014) states this is due to privilege. Traditional institutes have been able to resist it, however, this higher status is considered one to aspire to. Collini (2017) asserts that the new model of HE misses the point. Paying a fee for a service is not the same as forming a social contract. Williams (2013) notes that student identity is seen as consumerist, which makes them passive learners and therefore less likely to want challenge, which leads to Sutton's (2015) assertion that academics must locate the space carefully to provide innovative teaching. Both Williams (2013) and Furedi (2017) state that the current discourse towards students as vulnerable, is an erosion of academic freedom. Williams (2013) epitomizes this by using the example of more students at the University of Kent asking for extensions for stress. Furedi (2017) defends the position of academic freedom by putting forward the case for not eroding this freedom, by 'diseasing free speech.' Lynch et al. (2012) note how market forces have furthered the precarious identity of the female academic.

4.3 - Summary of performance and identity in higher education

This chapter has explored some popular theoretical concepts that are used in research to consider the role of the social actor in the situation they need to perform. The literature, as explored, demonstrates to us that academics are under pressure to perform certain identities more than others. The pressure to perform for students and the pressure to engage in scholarly activity are at odds with one another. One requires a very different behaviour for one than the other. Although many HEIs are not from the traditional university sector, there is a sense in the literature that learning, in the form of research and scholarly activity should prevail over market-

oriented performances, even in the post 1992 universities. Humberstone et al. (2013) assert that students value competition and individualism over enlightened thinking. This changes the shared understanding of classroom-based teaching. If identity is reflected back then academic identity is under threat. Macfarlane (2015) highlights the many dualisms caused by the imposed discourse and the resisting discourse. Both MacFarlane (2015) and Learmouth and Humphreys (2011) make reference to the duality using the Victorian novel of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde.

Chapter 5 - Criticisms of this conceptual framework

This is a rather complex, but well established conceptual framework. In writing up on the influences in HE I have attempted to give an overview of what has happened in recent years. However, my understanding is informed by writers who tend to come at it from an insider perspective. This perspective is often polemic and written from the angle that changes have been thrust upon HE. As an insider myself, I do tend to agree with this view, but I have tried to show that this is not the only viewpoint as to why growth has been so rapid in the sector. I have tried to present it from a perspective of relevance to me, but also to give a balanced account of some aspects, that could be interpreted differently. I have drawn heavily on the polemic angle, as this is the most relevant to my conceptual framework, however I acknowledge that there are critics of this approach.

In this section, I would like to focus on the three key theorists I have built into my conceptual framework to acknowledge some of the criticisms leveled at them, and to put forward a rationale to defend my choice. These three are Foucault, Goffman and Butler.

This study is an examination of performance in post 1992 univerisities, and I have used various works of Foucault to inform my thinking. Foucault was a professor of the history of thinking. Many commentators have picked up on how his work changed throughout his oeuvre, but to accuse him of being inconsistent is to fail to recognise the history of thought, and how that has changed throughout time. The constructivist view is to acknowledge the unstable nature of thinking. To see thought or attitudes as static is to fail to understand the nature of social order, or indeed the nature of knowledge, which was also put under the microscope by Foucault (Foucault, 1989). 'Thought' has been through various iterations, throughout the

history of mankind. Indeed, as noted within the review of HE, there can be conflicting ideologies operating at the same time.

Giddens (1984) criticised Foucault for his depiction of docile bodies, stating that he failed to recognise the individual within. To see people as docile bodies was to fail to recognise their free will. This is a strong argument used within the social-constructivist canon, again I make no apologies for my choice, and it is relevant to my arguments. Butler also puts forward that we are pushed into created patterns from the start. Given the nature of this thesis, as a sociological view of interaction and performance, these arguments are apposite, but to see Foucault's arguments as underplaying the cognitive is to misunderstand his meaning. Foucault sees the body as producing actions and discourses, but also as reproducing these actions and discourses in such a way as to shift the power. Unlike Marxist (Parkin 1981) thinking which sees power as a repression by the powerful, to those who are not. Foucault sees power within everyone, and it is produced and reproduced through its relations with others. He argues that we can be subjected to or resist the discourses of power.

> 'We are, in principle free to choose our bodies, as we are free to choose ourselves.' (Caldwell, 2007 pg. 19).

Caldwell goes on to state that Foucault's criticisms of ontology and epistemology dualisms put forward a case for what he called hyper reflexivity. As there is no one truth to adhere to, the self is free to determine its self in the many discourses of truth put forward.

Foucault's (1977) work on disciplinary power does see subversion as a mastery of the discipline, in order to create changes, rather than a subversion-like revolt, as we may see more in Marxist theory. The accusation of cultural dope is from this, as to

master the discipline, is to believe in your actions. Butler's work on performativity[10] has been influenced by Foucault, but she encourages the need for subversive behaviour in order to enact change. Her theory acknowledges more the ritual process of indoctrination to become the person one is. We are shaped by our bodies and people's reactions to them from the start of our lives, as previously mentioned. But rather than master the self, as created by society, Butler is suggesting active subversive actions. What is meant by subversive behaviour is not clear, according to Boucher (2005). It's a theory on identity but without being clear on what the identity is, and what moving the boundaries means. Such literal explanations are not really the role of constructivist thinking. It's aim is to demonstrate the subjective nature of both 'knowledge' and 'reality'. These terms are complex and messy and therefore not easy to categorise (Berger and Luckmann 1971). I feel that to look at them so, is to search for answers through a different paradigm, one not related to this one.

Both Foucault and Butler give credence to the cognitive. In order to subvert, one must be aware of what one is subverting. However, in her theoretical stance, Butler tends to draw not on examples but on the abstract. Foucault does draw on examples, but they are often historical, and then puts forward thoughts as to how these relate to the present day. His aim is to show how the past influences the present, but his historical references can be seen as obscure, and this is also a criticism levelled at him. Part of the testament of their theories is the fact that they have been so popular and so well applied over the years. They are strong in their field.

[10] See Judith Butler, Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'. London and New York: Routledge, (1993); Judith Butler, Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity. New York and London: Routledge, (1999).

Goffman, according to Fine and Manning (2003), is one of the most cited authors within the sociological canon. His work is very popular, but is also seen to lack methodological rigour, as he describes many ideas but does not give details as to his methodology. Fine and Manning describe him as both prolific and modest at the same time as he was easy to understand and use, but not detailed enough in his explanations. He created his own school of sociological study known as dramaturgy. A key criticism of this, as that the emphasis on acting as a theory ignores the mundane realities and sees the individuals as inauthentic and staged.

Pettit (2011) looks at Goffman's history and notes that he has a preference for ethnography over other forms of sociological enquiry such as experiments or surveys. Although Goffman is criticised for his emphasis on drama, ignoring what is seen as the natural side of cognitive interaction, in fact Goffman's methods were entirely naturalistic. He set out to avoid methods which may be seen as contrived yet a major criticism of him, is his focus on the contrivances of interaction, which is seen to be at the expense of the 'real' person. He is often-cited as seeing man as a confidence trickster, although none of his work was in criminal settings (Pettit 2011). As noted by Pettit (2011), many of the criticisms which are levelled at Goffman, come from his resistance to be transparent on how he applied his participant-observation model. His lack of transparency on this is his greatest downfall. But most of the criticism in my mind seems to come from the reader's discomfort at this analogy. 'The participant-observer's accuracy hinged upon the success at emulating the con-man's art of self-presentation. These were the professionals that Goffman most identified with. He was interested in the management of people's impressions and emotions. His adoption of the con man model was choice, but one which his experiences as a participant- observer facilitated. He reversed the moral valence surrounding such confidence games, whether scientific or commercial. He argued that:

‘ ‘all social interaction consisted of a constant transmission and reception of insincere signals.’ (Pettit 2011, pg. 150)

His early work, however, has set a precedent and been used widely since, to show empirical relevance, by others. What may have been seen as a lack of rigour could also be argued to be pioneering thinking. Criticisms of his analogy to acting, I believe could stem from the discomfort of the reader. This is also true of those who criticise Foucault and Butler, for not acknowledging the internal motivations of the agent. I do not believe that this is true of any of their work, but what they bring with these theories is a disruption to the ideology of human agency. There will be those who welcome this disruption and will use it to explore new avenues, and there will be those who do not welcome it. They will put up a defense against such methodologies. Some of these criticisms have been acknowledgements of gaps in the literature and a chance for an author to fill that gap. Other criticisms are those which seek to avoid the path of social constructivism to measure the instruments of education. To defend my conceptual framework and lead into my methodology, I will draw once again on the work of Foucault. The individual who is subjected to education or works in education is subjected to a set of measurements to determine success. Within this framework people are the subject of bio-power mechanisms (Ball 2013). They are measured and categorized and subjected to the methods that Foucault (1979) critiqued. The education system is built on measurement. The examination process is designed to measure the success of individuals and to classify them. Social constructivism is not exactly a resistance discourse to the issue of measuring learning or the measurement of effective learning through external agencies, but from my insider perspective it rings true with the tensions I have experienced and therefore the method I have chosen to use. Many sociological studies were very much focused on analyzing how people deal with the systems.

They imply the docile nature of human action, seeing it either as a struggle or a duplicitous game. Ethnomethodology turns this around by seeing human action as the construction of the situation, not reacting to it, but the producers of it.

The next chapter is a review of literature on Ethnomethodology (EM). This is used to attempt to bridge some of the criticisms of the conceptual framework so far. EM differs from many social science research techniques as it focuses on everyday accomplishments, rather than viewing people as cultural dopes, or as oppressed, it examines how individuals achieve the mundane but necessary everyday roles that the must carry out.

Chapter 6 – Ethnomethodology as a 'new' perspective

The literature review has explored concepts and theories that have been applied to HE or to social research in general. Garfinkel started this in 1972 through an examination of a chemistry lecture (Garfinkel 2002) and Eglin has built on this work by examining the beginning of a university class in 2005 (Eglin 2009) and Hester and Francis (2004) examined interaction in both a school and a university.

The reason for taking this approach is to look at what this means in practice. This is the 'more' of the situation (Liberman 2013). Liberman highlighted that Garfinkel was very skeptical of the use of 'grand theories' applied to social situations. This is not to say that he did not see the value of such research, but he was keen to go beyond the gloss of accepting them as part of the situation. His 'invention' of ethnomethodology was to look at what more could be seen of the use of everyday practice. The work that proved to me that this was a worthwhile pursuit of study was Wieder's study of a half-way house (Wieder 1974). This piece of work consolidated for me any uncertainty I had about using Ethnomethodology (EM). In this work he split his writing into two parts. In the first part he used an ethnographic methodology to presuppose a rule governed approach, to understand the issues which were encountered in the running of a half-way house (to rehabilitate drug offenders). The purpose of his research was to investigate the effectiveness of the scheme and his findings were similar to other such studies, as to the barriers to success. In the second part of the study, he used an ethnomethodological approach to illustrate how both residents and staff were implicit in the accomplishment of the barriers to success by their use of language and the interactions that came out of telling these barriers. Wieder (1974) was not content to just accept the failures, he investigated the accomplishment of these failures in the situated actions of the halfway-house members. He looked at 'what more' could be discovered from the use of interaction (Zimmerman 1970, cited

in Wieder 1974). As I have already stated this work was a pivotal inspirational point in my studies and has influenced the direction I have taken. By using EM, I wish to not just accept the grand theoretical concepts which have been considered but to look beyond them to what more is accomplished. As already stated, there has been some exploration of this in HE. Garfinkel, Eglin and Hester and Francis have started to explore this issue, to show what more is accomplished by the members in the setting. This study is building on their work, to illustrate how members make sense of the grand theories and concepts that are seen to govern HE and included in the bulk of the literature.

This is a relatively underused perspective which will be explored in detail, to understand how it contributes to the knowledge and the research objectives. Rawls (2008) described EM as the continuous and constant attention to display a shared understanding of an organizational setting. She argues that this is necessary in the accomplishment of order within a work environment. It is often associated with ethnography, and indeed, uses similar techniques, but seeks to achieve very different ends. Pollner and Emerson (2001) attempt to show the subtle differences of ethnography and ethnomethodology. They recognize that both are traditions from the interpretive world, neither drawing on quantitative methods as some other interpretive traditions do. Although they draw on similar research methods, EM criticizes ethnography for not going deep enough. Ethnography takes a stance of reflection on action, whereas EM draws on observations of reflection in action. Unsurprisingly this is popular in areas of work such as IT, where use of technology is seen as important, and there is ease with which to drill down into the technical detail with the aid of technological devices. Traditional ethnographic study draws on field notes, written whilst immersed in action, but the documentation of them is drawn up later, in reflection, by the researcher (Marcon and Gopal 2008). There is overlap in

techniques, as highlighted by Rawls and Duck's ethnomethodological study (2017), which drew on ethnographic data.

Whilst this study is primarily located in the tradition of ethnomethodology, it is important to start by understanding the role of ethnography. As already stated, there is an overlap. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) stated that ethnographers either overtly or covertly participate in the daily lives of those who are under scrutiny for a lengthy period of time. This is done to ascertain the nature of the phenomena under study and sits within the naturalist tradition of research. This means that the researcher must take a neutral perspective in order to give a true 'factual' description of what is being studied. However, a criticism of naturalism is that it fails to take into account the fact that the researcher is indeed located within a social field themselves. This is known as the reflexive nature of such social research studies. Those who advocate this method of study, would also argue that the social construction of our society means that even studies framed within the paradigm of positivism are equally subjective as the measurements used are framed from the constructivist paradigm (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007).

Whilst there is an acknowledgement that ethnography cannot separate itself from the subjective nature of the research, it acknowledges the need for reflexivity, the understanding of the researcher that they are drawing inferences from their own socio-political background. There is a need to step back and remain, at some level, impartial. Ethnographers must, at all times, resist the urge to 'go native'. Ethnographers use such methods as observation, participation from the peripheries and the compiling of field notes, interviews, both formal and informal, document and artifact collection to write a 'thick description' or detailed account of the phenomenon being explored. Its roots are in anthropology, which aims to explore a foreign culture from the native's point of view, rather than studying the culture through the lens of

their own interpretation. It was the Chicago School of Sociology that brought this method to the forefront of studies in sociology and then later criminology, between 1892 and 1942 (Deegan 2001).

This study is located in the method of inquiry known as ethnomethodology. Harold Garfinkel started this in the 50s and 60s, leading to his notable publication of '*Studies in Ethnomethodology'* in 1967 (Marcon and Gopel, 2008).

Marcon and Gopal (2008) acknowledge that EM has evolved over the years, from its initial conceptualization by Garfinkel (1967) to a more sophisticated and diverse set of practices, but it is important to start here to show an understanding of what this is. In his book '*Studies in Ethnomethodology'* Garfinkel describes EM as a study of 'action-in-context as a practical accomplishment' (pg. 9). At the time it was considered very different to any other theory, perhaps most noted in similarity to Goffman (1959). Whilst both drew on the work of Durkheim, and focused on performance, language and action of individuals within their settings, their approaches were indeed very different. Goffman's emphasis was on the planned performances of individuals, whereas Garfinkel was more interested in the planned social order of such interactions (Rawls 2002). Garfinkel acknowledged a debt to the work of Shutz, yet his work is not seen as phenomenological (Dowling 2007). Dowling (2007) also located his work in the constructivist paradigm, but Prasad (2005) locates it in the interpretive traditions, which conflicts with Dowling's (2007) model. Emirbayer and Maynard (2011) construct a case for locating it with the pragmatists, positing that in many ways its emphasis on accomplishment of everyday lives is an instrumental approach. It seems that locating his work is as controversial as understanding it. It is generally considered difficult to read (Pollner 2012), which may be partly the reason for its lack of take up.

Understanding what influenced Garfinkel (1967) is a preoccupation in many papers about EM. It was even described as troublesome and hippy-like (Pollner 2012). Pollner (1991) acknowledges that EM is seen to challenge the more conventional sociological epistemologies by questioning the 'subject/object duality' (pg. 370) that more conventional sociological methods of enquiry rely upon. As such, it worries at the methods put forward in the literature review of this study. It questions their epistemology and philosophical processes. Garfinkel (1967) launched his theory onto the world of sociology as a way of criticizing Talcott Parsons, of whom he had been a student. Parsons had also been influenced by Durkheim. Emirbayer (2003) says Durkheim was described as 'the father of sociology'. Durkheim was an important influence on modern social thinking. He believed in using quantitative methods to determine social understanding. He believed in the use of empirical evidence and used this to draw up what he called an understanding of the 'conscience collective'. He believed that society operated a collective of conscience, and that this was apparent in society and could be measured. He was interested in collective social thought and saw individuation as the breakdown of society (Giddens 2012). Due to the scientific nature of his research methodology and his writing about religion, many accused Durkheim of being too conservative. However, Milbrandt and Pearce (2011) state he signposted the way for Parsons. Parsons referred to a central value system, which is similar to Durkheim's conscience collective (Milbrandt and Pearce 2011). A major piece of Parsons' work was called 'the social system'; here Parsons used normative measurement, similar to Durkheim, to build his conception of the social system. He asserted that personalities were outside of this, and that the social order came from the plenum (Garfinkel's word for the plentiful (Rawls 2002)). Rawls (2002) illustrates the link between them all, noting the significance of both Durkheim's and Parsons' influence, as they are both central to the claims that Garfinkel makes.

In his book, '*Ethnomethodology's Program: Working out Durkheim's Aphorism'* Garfinkel explains how he came up with EM. He states that Durkheim's aphorism 'is common currency in the social science movement,' (pg122) this being that 'the objective reality of social facts is sociology's fundamental principle'. Garfinkel then goes on to deconstruct this perceived general truth. (Garfinkel 2002). After the war, Garfinkel became a PhD student of Parsons, an influential sociologist of the time, basing his work on statistical analysis, but Fleming, a PhD student who Garfinkel had worked with before the war had influenced his thinking. Fleming viewed social theory from a more cross-disciplinary approach and was interested in the view of the actor (Rawls 2003). This influenced Garfinkel's thinking and lead to his non-positivist, yet still very normative view of social theory. Rawls (2003) states he took on Parsons, but later withdrew from the conceptual debate, as he could not demonstrate his work theoretically, only through his empirical research. His work is notoriously difficult to understand, as previously mentioned. Its hippy-like status can be attributed to the fact it is so difficult to explain, well illustrated in Liberman's (2013) paper on the problematic nature of the instruction of board games. This highlighted the problem that Garfinkel faced. He was trying to explain to people what was seen as the obvious and this was not easy to accomplish, as the obvious is just taken for granted. As Liberman demonstrates, trying to explain how to do something with just instructions, without any action, makes the explanation nonsensical. This was the difficulty for Garfinkel, which has left EM, as a method, somewhat on the sidelines, only for those who have already ventured far enough into the sociological domain to have a practical understanding of, or for a few who were influenced by his work.

Pollner (2012) states that those attracted to it were similar to those attracted to the counter culture of the 60's, but contemporary EM offers avenues into new areas, such a business, like the big business of HE (Tight 2012). Rawls (Editor in Garfinkel 2002) promotes this avenue, stating that Garfinkel found many of his ideas from his

early work in the family business. This ties together the thinking of Emirbayer and Maynard's (2011) assertions that he was in fact a pragmatist. These early experiences in understanding accounting and his later influences by Parsons and therefore, indirectly Durkheim, were a huge influence on his thinking in developing the research methods used in ethnomethodology.

In his central claims in '*Ethnomethodology's Program'*, Garfinkel lays out his thinking bare. He states that EM is not against positivism, but asks 'what more', and disputes Parsons view that there is 'no order to the plenum.' Garfinkel believed that the accomplishment of everyday lives was very ordered, and that social order went beyond the conscience collective (a set of rules), to a more detailed level of the actor. The quantitative methods were just not enough to explain the behaviour of people in their everyday lives.

Garfinkel moved away from positivist thinking, back to the ethnographic inductive studies that he felt would demonstrate this. At the time, the person nearest to this in thinking and method was Goffman. They were contemporaries with similar but differing philosophies.

According to Pollner and Emerson (2001), Garfinkel argued that competences of work usually involved a taken-for grantedness of the everyday actions, as such ethnographers, immersed in the situation, would assume a level of competence that meant they were predisposed to ignore the mundane practices and therefore likely to overlook them. Whilst the taken-for-grantedness was important, Garfinkel felt that if we understood and questioned what was taken for granted, we would have a better understanding of the social phenomenon. Whilst EM did not mean that one should have no competence in the practices that accounts were drawn up of, there was a need to be ethnomethodologically indifferent. Garfinkel (2002) complained this was

often misunderstood to mean indifference to society, when in fact this means there is a need to be indifferent to methods of 'formal analysis' as he called other methods of inquiry.

He asserted that there is no taken-for-grantedness. The deeper meaning that is looked for through the top down approach of shared cultural meanings cannot be employed. It is the mundane ordinary accomplishments that become the object of study to lead to deeper understanding. Garfinkel (2002) likened this to the skill of driving; there is a need to understand traffic, and how it works. Here the object of study is the traffic itself, not the assumed understanding of it. To Garfinkel, the mutual understandings merely beg the question: what are the commonalities (Rawls 2008)? Garfinkel was interested in understanding why the responses were what they were, why not something different? By uncovering the mundane, Garfinkel hoped to explain the taken-for-grantedness.

Both Garfinkel (1967) and Goffman (1959) highlight the importance of reflexivity of the social self and the need to orient oneself to others. Without constant, immediate reflecting and realignment, there is a break of trust*[11] (Rawls 2011).

All actors in the shared context need to be reflexive and respond to the shared understanding of the situation. Perhaps it is worth noting that indeed the researcher is also reflexive but must adopt ethnomethodological indifference as previously stated. This however, is difficult to do.

It is the role of the researcher to separate themselves from judging the situation, to examine the detail and question the interaction, not the motive. Rawls (2011)

[11] Where Garfinkel uses a * after a word, this means the word is used in a different meaning than is usually construed

highlights that turn taking can show conflict in interpretation, but repairs will be done, until trust* has gone. There are consequences to failing to respond in accordance with the social order rules. After a few attempts at correction, the person breaching the rules will come under question. Rawls also makes the point that jokes can be a deliberate breach of rules, but these require the skill of timing, and can backfire if this is not acknowledged by the other party. A key point that Rawls (2011) makes is the macro issue of diversity. If people come together from such different backgrounds that there is a lack of shared beliefs and rituals as referred to through more traditional methods of cultural interpretation, then these traditional methods need to be questioned. This brings to the forefront, the importance of EM, and recognition of the accomplishment of the endogenous[12] order.

Rawls (2002) explains that EM is an investigation of social order, as has already been highlighted. To understand this, it is important to understand what it is not. Many have mistaken it, Rawls (2002) asserts, as a focus on the individual, but this is not the case. It is not looking at the cognitive, or the conceptual mapping that individuals draw upon, although it is equally not dismissing the concepts that individuals draw upon. This is often a mistake that people make, as Garfinkel was known to dismiss theory (Liberman 2013). Although he was skeptical of the acceptance of theory, he was not dismissing it outright, but keen to go beyond it, as already stated. EM is looking at how people accomplish their everyday lives, it is not really looking at how they do 'work' (if the unit of analysis is a work situation) nor is it looking at the actors in the situation. It is more interested in the mundane aspects of the interactions in which individuals engage to create the social situation, in order to demonstrate their accomplished participation in the situation within which they are part. If the accomplished order is not as assumed, then this can lead to stigma

[12] Garfinkel used the term endogenous to mean the intricate and natural patterned order of everyday interactions. The dictionary states it means proceeding from within, derived internally.

(Goffman 1963). It does, however, Rawls asserts, (2013) have a 'cognitive style', because to accomplish the mundane order there is a need to understand the cognition, hence it is not dismissing the concepts outright, but this is not the emphasis of the study. Individuals alone, cannot create social meaning, and situations are not the starting point of that social meaning either, it is the situatedness that is important, but as Liberman (2013) highlights, there is no clear emphasis within this. Garfinkel wanted to move away from the emphasis on the social actors' viewpoint or the cultural values, so often captured in quantitative studies, to the order of interaction that occurred with others. Social meaning is created but it is not clear what the emphasis is, nor does it need to be.

Garfinkel's (1967) seminal work on the subject was '*Studies in Ethnomethodology'*. Although not published until 1967, Garfinkel himself had been pioneering his methodology since his work as a PhD student with Talcott Parsons. In '*Studies of Ethnomethodology'* he argued for the use of what he called the documentary method. This is what he called the method of documenting an appearance. Garfinkel (1967) recognized that he was building on the work of Goffman (1959). However, as Prasad (2005) highlights their methods are different. Goffman (1959) viewed his subjects as entirely conscious of their actions and speech and therefore managing impressions of how others see these actions. Goffman sees the efforts of his subjects as theatrical, conscious acts. Garfinkel (1967), in recognition of this, builds on the conscious impressions, by drilling into the mundane detail of what methods are employed to manage these impressions. In Goffman's (1959) dramaturgy there is this idea of a staged impression, however Garfinkel (1967) built on this in a more subtle way.

Goffman often referred to literature and fictitious situations to demonstrate his point (Fine and Manning 2003). This was seen as a criticism of his work, but Garfinkel

(1967) used empirical data to demonstrate his findings. Daily occurrences of everyday life were generally not dramatic, but mundane interactions with others. This was what Garfinkel called 'Mundane Reasoning Analysis' (Marcon and Gopal 2008). This meant that he wanted to demonstrate that the mundane interactions were as important as the shared principles.

Rawls (2002) expresses that critics of Garfinkel have argued that his work is pointless, and that it lacks any real value, in terms of meaning or morality, but Rawls highlights that his years of work in the field of EM were exactly to highlight issues of morality. His early work was to demonstrate that persons working together did so under a shared understanding of the conditions of social order and reciprocity. Those most likely to be stigmatized were those who would be less likely to be a party to these shared rules and therefore would suffer from accidental breaches. His trust* arguments build on this. Another criticism of EM is that due to its microanalysis it is conservative in nature, and therefore apolitical, but Llewellyn and Hindmarsh (2010) demonstrate that such studies reveal some uncomfortable truths for organisations about the nature of knowledge work. The work of EM aims to uncover what is achieved by the social actors, often rendering the rules enforced by organisations as useless. This can be seen in Silverman and Jones (2010) examination of decision making in graduate recruitment schemes. Whilst organisations claim to have systematic processes to ensure fairness, this paper demonstrates that the decision is ultimately a process of deliberation by a group to bring a shared desired result, regardless of the process.

To explore EM further I will use the model of Marcon and Gopal (2008) (See Appendix 1). Although not explicitly stated in their paper, this model is a pictorial representation influenced by a number of different works. They cite their influences as Button (1991), Heritage (1984), Maynard and Clayman (1991) and Sharrock and

Anderson (1991). Marcon and Gopal's model (2008) is a very condensed version of the works that have influenced them, but the categories used fit well with the use of EM in this study, as the three separate pieces of analysis follow the three main areas outlined in the rest of this chapter. The first bit of analysis uses conversation analysis (CA) and membership category analysis (MCA), the second bit of analysis predominantly uses the documentary method and the third section of analysis looks into how academics use their knowledge of their environment to make sense of their practice (cognition). The next few sections of this chapter will go through the aspects of this model and also consider the original works that have been of influence, most notably, Maynard and Clayman's (1991) paper as they share a title. The purpose of the next few sections of this chapter are to show how the model and its original influences have been used to inform the research methods used in the three pieces of analysis in this study. Interestingly in their paper, Marcon and Gopal do not go on to describe the aspects of the model they fleetingly put forward, they focus on one aspect, mundane reasoning.

6.1 – Garfinkel's Perspective - mundane reasoning analysis – the documentary method (Marcon and Gopal 2008)

In order to understand the mundane reasoning of everyday interaction Garfinkel (1967) advocated the documentary method of interpretation. He stated that interaction needed to be documented in minute detail, with ethnomethodological indifference (previously stated) to the methods that members used. This means treating the observances as a 'document of' the process of accomplishment. The ethnomethodological indifference means not buying into the shared assumptions, but questioning all aspects, so that the method by which the shared assumptions are built in becomes apparent. Due to the taken-for-granted nature of every day interaction, Garfinkel often used 'breach' experiments to build a greater

understanding of his concepts to the community he worked with. In order to demonstrate the sensemaking nature of interaction he used an experiment known as the yes/no experiment. Ten students were asked to take part in some psychiatric research to find out how best to counsel students with problems. They were told to provide some background to their problem, ask for advice and the answer would be given as a yes or a no. They were to ask ten questions to the counsellor. After each question was answered, they were then asked to turn off the interconnecting microphone and give their understanding of the answer they were given. Although this was seen by those participating as genuine, the yes/no answers were given randomly. The experiment showed that the individuals were still able to make sense of these answers, they all managed to carry on to ten questions as they all made sense of the response given, even if this may have surprised them. Garfinkel (1967) highlighted what he called the retrospective/prospective (pg. 89) potential of interaction. This was a demonstration of the responses to work in the moment, and orientation to an understanding of the presented answer.

By using the documentary method Garfinkel questioned everything about the interactions, rather than just accepting it. He used it to highlight how individuals carry out their everyday interactions, rather than more conventional methods of enquiry which tended to ignore the everyday in search of the greater meaning.

In 1972 Garfinkel used the documentary method on a chemistry lecture (Garfinkel 2002). Garfinkel described his initial notes as ethnographic (a recurring theme within EM), but then documented his discussion of those notes with a colleague. In their questioning they applied ethnomethodological indifference. Here they questioned such things as ‘seeing the room fill up’ (why did the student know to stay for a lecture, when the lecture had not begun?) and ‘exhibiting understanding’ (how does one do that?). Garfinkel (1967) also believed that to show these methods, it was

easiest to show when they were not achieved. To do this, he encouraged his researchers (his students) to carry out what he called 'breach experiments'. He asked them to go about their daily interactions by not buying into the shared assumptions and to document how their interactions proceeded. For example, he asked them to go home and interact with their family as if they were a guest, and other such experiments. Goffman (1959) assumed all actions within the public gaze were conscious, but Garfinkel (1967) makes the point that most of our reflexive interactions are done methodically, less out of conscious thought, but out of a knowledge of what is expected. In his breach experiments he asked his students to assume consciously a different mindset, and their findings were that such conscious attempts to change the course of the interactions generally lead to a breakdown in communication. This refutation of Parsons plenum was to show that there was indeed order in the mundane, and as such the 'conscience collective' was not just a 'grand theory'.

EM itself has taken various turns since its original inception. Marcon and Gopal (2008) highlight that Garfinkel's ideas were evolved by both Cicourel (1974), still writing today, and Sacks (1995) (cited in Marcon and Gopal 2008), whose early death cut short his personal influence, but many have since adopted and progressed his work. Each of these had a slightly different lens in their view of EM.

6.2 - Sacks' contribution to ethnomethodology – conversation analysis (Marcon and Gopal 2008)

Sacks, influenced by Garfinkel, forwarded the viewpoint of EM by introducing both Conversation Analysis (CA) and Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA).

Sacks was best known for his work in analyzing recordings of conversations to a suicide prevention call-centre. It is worth noting that Sacks' contributions to Conversation Analysis (CA) are duly noted, but there are many who have taken it on and developed it away from EM. Sacks and Schegloff are early contributors to it as a form of sociology rather than a linguistic study (ten Have 2007). They make the point that conversation is an activity that needs the participation of at least two. It is not just the requirement for two (or more) people present, but also the willingness for exchange between them. These early works of Sacks and Schegloff (ten Have 2007) demonstrate how CA can be used to understand what Schegloff later went on to describe as 'the procedural infrastructure of interaction' (Schegloff 1992 cited in ten Have 2007).

Sacks and Schegloff used CA to problematise the issue of procedure in conversation and then to demonstrate methods used as solutions to deal with this (ten Have 2007). They looked at what regularly occurred and what did not occur and was often overlooked. For example, in Sack's study in the suicide prevention centre, he noted that callers would often not give their name, and were not directly asked to, but were invited to by the answerer giving them their name. Such minute detail helps us to understand the effective accomplishment of such calls and therefore the competence of interaction in accomplishment of everyday life situations. CA is a field of EM that some argue is small (Llewellyn and Hindmarsh 2010) due to the many criticisms put forward, which will be explored shortly. There are transcription conventions of analysis which are used. These are widely attributed to Jefferson but laid out in Atkinson and Heritage (1999).

There are other techniques, which are similar to Sacks. Austin's (1962) speech act theory is looking at speech as an action, as a performative function. This is often referred to as discourse analysis (DA), as it is interested in the framing and use of

the language. This is similar to Sacks in style of coding but differs in that the emphasis in CA is on the social practice. However, there are those who do not differentiate between CA and DA specifically (Taylor 2013). DA can be useful where CA is not. True advocates of CA do not agree with the application of it to interviews, as the focus of CA is on the natural course of conversation. Austin's work was published posthumously and is largely taken up and explored through Searle. There is also Derrida's (1974) grammatology work, but this looks not only at the 'said' but the 'unsaid' and is often criticized for being highly complex. As such, Sacks work for CA and Austin's code for DA, are seen as the most appropriate for this study, given that they are most commonly linked with EM and all hail from the same school.

Sacks used his work to highlight a number of interesting techniques that people used in conversation to accomplish their position and status. Silverman (1998) highlights that Sacks' work was heavily influenced by Goffman and Garfinkel. He makes reference throughout his short career to the works of Goffman, but although Goffman is reputed as saying that Sacks was a systems engineer (Silverman 1998), Sacks was clear that his work was rule guided, not rule governed (Silverman 1998, pg. 35). A point also asserted by Goffman (1983) in his address on the interaction order. Sacks asserted that social order was merely a 'by-product of social interaction, a machine designed to do something else or nothing in particular' (Sacks LC2, cited in Silverman 1998). Sacks used his techniques to provide a very detailed description of recorded conversations, to highlight such conversational issues as turn taking, or recognition (or non-recognition) of another's response. Again, Sacks' work is claimed to be useful for understanding issues of power and discrimination (Silverman 1998). Similar to Garfinkel, he offered a perspective of how members' activities help to create social order, rather than viewing social order as a top down set of shared cultural values (Silverman 1998).

Sacks, in his work, identified what is called Membership Categorization Devices (MCD). He asserted that terms would be fitted together with other terms. He called this, 'rules of application'. For example, there is an association between the word baby and mother. An individual would know what to replace the X's and Y's with, in the following pattern:

> The X cried, the Y picked it up.

We would not be tempted to say 'the teacher cried' etc. (Silverman 1998). This technique of categorization is important in the accomplishment of our everyday lives, because members use these categories to identify themselves as accomplished, as part of the knowing membership category. For Sacks this is important, because membership categorization devices (MCD) exist only through the use by members of that category, not as a separate category itself.

6.3 - Hester and Eglin's contribution to ethnomethodology – membership category analysis (Marcon and Gopal 2008)

Drawing on Marcon and Gopal's (2008) model again, they refer to Hester and Eglin's work on membership categorization analysis (MCA). Sack's in his work, as previously stated, refers to membership categorization devices (MCD). Hester and Eglin (1992) showed an interest in MCD's in their book, a *Sociology of Crime*, and outlined the 'steps' to MCA (Membership Categorization Analysis). These steps are to identify some description (some conversation to use in analysis), then identify what is common sense within that description, and thirdly interpret that description, by looking at what membership categories were employed in the description.

Sacks (1972 in Silverman 1998) referred to standardized relational pairs (SRPs) and asserted that these pairs tended to set out the known rights and obligations concerning any activity. MCA is the study of the use of 'discourse identities' within a setting to demonstrate how SRPs are used to show accomplishment of the setting. Hester and Eglin (1997) refer to this as 'culture-in-action'. Hester and Eglin (1992) draw a link between different methodologies used in sociology and claim that MCA is important for understanding the social construction of culture. They make a link between EM and symbolic interactionism. This link is previously made by Denzin (1969). What is important in this is that Garfinkel put an emphasis on the located situatedness of the interactions, whereas the use of MCA shows a need to understand the wider implications of this. Similar to Cicourel's work (to be explored in the next sub heading), MCA recognized the links between the macro and microanalysis. This is a bid to bridge the criticisms of Garfinkel's early work.

Fitzgerald (2012) asserts that this can be seen as a separate research method, even though it comes from the same ethnomethodological background. Stokoe (2012) bemoans what she sees as its lack of take up, as opposed to CA, but Fitzgerald (2012) argues that it is not necessarily heading down the same route as CA. Stokoe (2012) acknowledges this also, differentiating CA as a systematic understanding of the engineering of conversation, such as turn-taking or repair mechanisms, MCA is more interested in the descriptive turn on the conversation, observing how identity is described or meaning is constructed through the use of members inference to identity. Stokoe acknowledges that MCA is more problematic than CA drawing on Sacks' initial assertion that conversation is inference rich and therefore it is harder for the researcher to separate themselves from the data, in a way that they can in CA. She gives an example of analysis by Schegloff in 1991 which shows that his interpretation is reliant on the social inferences as much as his own understanding, thus highlighting his own claim that MCA can be 'wild and promiscuous' (cited in

Stokoe 2012). MCA is moving more towards the inference-based approach of other methods, that EM was trying to move away from. In her paper, what is interesting is she used both real life examples and also television scripts. Formal analysis in sociology would criticise the use of theoretical examples such as television, however media representation is often used to illustrate real life issues even if it is not real life, as it must be representative in the sense that the onlooker can understand it. This is the position of EM. It is the intelligibility of the situation that makes it real. MCA sees identity not so much as separate, but part of group identity, and seeks to explore this phenomenon from how members of the group use their identity and rely on others own understanding of it. The assertion is that identity is not something we have but is something we do. The study of SRPs (standard relational pairs) and their usage, allows us to get an insight into how people practically accomplish their group identity (Fitzgerald and Housley 2015)

As already stated, Sacks career was short, due to his death, but it is interesting to see what has evolved from his work. Silverman (1998) recognizes Sacks' contribution to many social science fields, including anthropology, linguistics and sociology, and also its contribution to a more sophisticated set of practices in ethnography. As repeatedly referred to, EM is a detailed set of practices which draws upon ethnographic techniques but is separate from it. Silverman (1998) draws parallels between the successes of Garfinkel and Sacks, but Schlegoff (1992 cited in Silverman 1998) states it is imperative to separate Sacks from the influences of Garfinkel, to give credit to the work of Sacks, but others (Lynch and Bogen (1994) cited in Silverman 1998) find more criticism in separating Sacks from EM, as the broader meaning is needed to create any meaningful understanding. As Schlegoff implies, Sacks work could be seen to add value to what otherwise may be seen as an endless demonstration of reflexivity. (Silverman 1998)

6.4 - Cicourel's contribution to ethnomethodology – distributed cognition (Marcon and Gopal 2008)

Cicourel's work shows an awareness of the criticisms posed at both Garfinkel and Sacks work. These were that it is trivial, because such detailed work adds no value to the greater good of society. To contribute to knowledge, the work must have worth. Collins (1981), in collaboration with the work of Cicourel, outlines the arguments others have put forward against micro-sociology. He states that the key criticisms are that it is idealistic and trivial. Each microanalysis is not transferable to any other situation, and therefore it is reductionist, and prone to oversimplification. Whilst it is interesting to understand the order of conversations and interactions, it does not make any valued contribution to understanding the greater issues of society. Likewise, he highlights that micro-sociology also criticized macro sociology as un-explicated gloss (not detailed enough), a forced construction through quantitative measures, a reification caused by analysis, not through detail. But as Collins goes on to say, both need each other.

This is the point expanded by Cicourel. Studies within the post positivist tradition may be either macro or micro, but both need each other. They are just different levels of analysis that complement each other. Cicourel states that the macro analysis sets the structures that are then explicated by the microanalysis. He proposes the need to create a more interactive model of the two levels (Cicourel 1981). Whilst both Garfinkel and Sacks put an emphasis on the social accomplishment and as such firmly presented themselves as interested in behaviour (or would class themselves as behaviourists), Cicourel takes a more Gestaltian view, by drawing on aspects of psychology. His interest is in the field of how the two are linked.

Although Cicourel would class himself as a sociologist, he drew on aspects of psychology and neuroscience. Whilst Garfinkel (1967) was keen to show order in observable phenomena, thus locating his work firmly in the field of behaviourism, Cicourel (1974) also examined the role of what was 'in the head' in his theory on cognitive sociology. He drew on the work of Parsons but questioned how the actors knew what were the known, cognitive procedures.

This is well explained in his paper on collective memory (Cicourel 2015) and another paper where he explores the issue of scaffolding (Cicourel 2012). Cicourel argues that humans are unique from other animals in that they build up a collective memory and a neurobiological sense of self. This is done from birth in the form of scaffolding from the caregiver who reinforces certain aspects of cognition, emotion, and socio-cultural behavior through a process called scaffolding. This means that caregivers enable the maintenance of identity and social practices through social reinforcement.

Cicourel (1974) summarised his theory to explain that participants know things that they do not express. This has already been highlighted in the work of Garfinkel (1967) and Rawls (2002), but Cicourel makes this explicit. He asserts that these unmentioned details are not usually called into question but assumed to be there if needed. They are only questioned when discrepancies occur. This fits with Garfinkel's (1967) work on breach experiments. He (Cicourel 1974) states that status, role and norms are generally unquestioned as long as appropriate behaviours are exhibited. He emphasizes the normative nature of social interaction. This emphasis is not new, indeed, this has been the purpose of the work of both Garfinkel and Sacks, but by adding a cognitive emphasis he is moving the focus away from the mechanics, to a more agency framed perspective.

However, in his (Cicourel 2012) paper he goes on to state that, as young people grow, they adapt these practices, through problem solving and communication to reflexively alter the social practices, but in a way that is acceptable and leads to socio-cultural stability whilst enabling change throughout human life cycles. The young claim these practices as their own and use their earlier scaffolding and interpretation to shape these practices to their own unique identity. He said:

> 'communal life revolves around the individual's possession of agency, or a socio-cultural self. The notion of a social self and the awareness and ability to take others into account requires collective living conditions only sustainable through collaborative social interaction between conspecifics.' (Cicourel 2012 Pg. 53)

A lot of Cicourel's work drew on the assessment of medical practices in understanding cognitive disorders and their effect on social interaction. As such he drew heavily on ethnographic data and CA to understand the interaction of the two. He advocated the detail of the CA to then be assessed against the macro sociological studies. He also drew on the stories of those affected by the social phenomenon he studied to understand the calibrations and reparations used to create social stability. His use of the term caregiver demonstrates that we, as societal members, are more forgiving and prepared to help in the reparation of those who are close to us. As parents we shape our children's world, and as carers of the elderly, we help to maintain that social order when cognitive processes are starting to fail.

Although his work *Method and Measurement in Sociology* (1964) has been seen by some to be a critique of measurement both quantitative and qualitative, it is not directly written as a work of EM. Lynch (1991) asserts that in this piece of work, he

was intending to subvert the norms that existed. By questioning the current practices Cicourel (1964) raised the issue that science relied on understanding the local organization of those practices. This is well demonstrated by Lynch (1991) in his questioning of the nature of measurement as to what would be considered as appropriate in terms of the level of preciseness. He shows that this is based on the local understanding. A scientific measurement of time is going to be more precise than, say a measurement of time for a meeting. Cicourel (1964) has elegantly highlighted the fact that knowledge itself is locally ordered, a point further emphasized by Lynch (1991) and Smith and Atkinson (2016). These further works show that the use of measurement itself is 'as political as the decisions made with these measurements.' (Smith and Atkinson 2016 pg. 105)

This last section of Marcon and Gopal's model (2008) needs to be considered in the accounting practices that academics use in this study. Their accounting is itself political as they manage themselves in their working environment. And in the third study, it is important to consider how they orient their accounts in light of their understanding of their professional selves, although I have used DA instead of CA, as explained later on.

These last three sections have highlighted the different areas of Marcon and Gopal's (2008) model, which they termed the 'diversity of ethnomethodology'. The next section will explore the model as a whole.

6.5 - The diversity of ethnomethodology

Marcon and Gopal's (2008) model for EM emphasizes the evolving nature of the methodology, but as previously mentioned it is important to recognize the earlier work of Maynard and Clayman (1991), also entitled *the diversity of ethnomethodology*, which is more detailed.

Garfinkel (1967) started this approach to research inquiry. He can be seen as an agitator of traditional social thought at the time. He was trying to uncover the discrepancies that he felt came from the 'formal analysis' approaches (as he called them) and normative thinking as laid down by Durkheim and perpetuated by Parsons. Criticisms of his work show him to be going against the prevailing thinking. The techniques he used, such as the documentary method, can be seen as non-positivist, they use observational techniques largely associated with ethnographic study but focus entirely on the data, less on the interpretation of it. There is a need to be both indifferent to the observed phenomena but also uniquely adequate. Sacks evolved the use of techniques by incorporating more modern techniques such as recording conversation, which Garfinkel did acknowledge would enhance his work (2002). Both have shown the level of detail used in the techniques people employ in their everyday performances. Garfinkel may be seen to be experimental, and perhaps cynical, whereas Sacks often refers to the machine-like qualities of conversation and whilst influenced by Garfinkel's work he developed one particular aspect of this - how conversation is produced. Garfinkel was interested in other aspects as well as speech, in the accomplishment of everyday life. Lynch (2017) tries to demonstrate their different purposes. He states that Garfinkel saw EM as attempting to achieve formal analysis as a phenomenon, but not the goal of EM, whereas Sacks, who was influenced by Garfinkel was looking for the formal structures in practical actions. Garfinkel used experiments to highlight what

happened to the disruption of perceived social order. Sacks drew on data from everyday situations to draw his conclusions. Marcon and Gopal (2008) refer to the irony of Goffman's philosophy, in that he chose to see individuals as conscious actors of their role, therefore also manipulators of the impression they gave. Garfinkel did not see this. He emphasized that individuals may perform these roles subconsciously. Despite his view of acting out, Goffman was indeed less political in his research than any of his other counterparts mentioned in this review of research methods. (Fine and Manning 2003).

Marcon and Gopal (2008) emphasize the necessity to avoid irony in EM, by ensuring that any a priori knowledge is bracketed, to guarantee that its role is understood in the analysis.

Sacks' detailed work on conversational analysis can be considered as a micro study, this allows for further development in the macro, through the use of discourse analysis in such issues as MCA, and amalgamating the bracketed, abductive information with the findings of the detailed conversational analysis.

Drawing on Marcon and Gopal's (2008) model, it is also important to explore which aspects have not been included. The next section will explore the role of discourse analysis as a compliment to conversational analysis.

6.6 – The role of discourse analysis

Cicourel (1964) highlights different kinds of sociological analysis and their problems in '*Method and Measurement'*. Here he is critical of both macro and micro analysis, but his final chapter attempts to pave a way forward where they work together. Discourse analysis would be a useful tool in this study. Whilst it could be claimed this is also a micro tool, it is drawing on the wider construction in its use of discourse, which is what Cicourel infers in his use of the term 'scaffolding'. I shall now explore the method of discourse analysis (DA). This method primarily looks at how people use language to give a credible explanation of themselves (Potter and Wetherall 1987) this may be to present themselves in a favourable light or to diminish the account of another. Regardless there is a lot of confusion as to what it actually is.

The use of discourse is often related back to Foucault's work (1977). He explored how individuals produced power through their use of discipline. Within this, he also means their control over themselves. Foucault argued that society used discursive formations to create a discipline and discourse, a 'regime of truth' (pg. 18) within that discipline. (Foucault 2008). By talking from a medical perspective, or a political perspective, the discourse takes on an authority that the individual wishes to convey. This is the relationship between power and truth. Foucault (1994) is keen to note that this can be good or bad, depending on how it is used. He is critical of taking a utopian view on such communicative practices.

Whilst Foucault may be seen to be the founder of this technique, his work was hypothetical. He studied the systems of thought, through history, but did not have empirical data to demonstrate his ideas. Cassell and Symon (2004) cite Fairclough (1992) as developing a system to use for this research method. Fairclough says that individuals use language as identity, relational and ideational functions, and this is

shown through the text, discursive practice and social practice. Examination of text is not dissimilar to CA, it is concerned with how the conversation is constructed. DA looks at the text to work out what words and phrases are used and what they are trying to convey. The discursive practice looks at the level of the context, and the social practice is most closely related to Foucault's thinking (Cassell and Symon 2004). Here the analyst is looking at what the speaker says in line with what is seen to be true. The focus is on the dominant discourse, the hegemony. This is generally from an ideological perspective and often there are competing discourses, as we see in the newspapers.

Wooffitt (2005) refers to critical discourse analysis as a way of examining how power is used in ideologies to (re)produce social inequalities. Edwards and Potter (1992) refer to the use of the DAM (Discursive Action Model). This is looking at the action of speech, which fits with Austin's (1962) idea of performative speech, whose relevance to this work has been mentioned earlier. It is also looking at what is considered of fact and interest, and what is accountable to the agent. Searle (2010) argues that all institutions create rules by presenting them as already existing facts. These are then reproduced in the discourse. Housley and Fitzgerald (2008) caution against the model by Edwards, Hepburn and Potter and favour more traditional methods of EM. However, Edwards, Hepburn and Potter (2009) have responded to this by asserting that Housley and Fitzgerald's (2008) criticism is lacking in detail and the key issues they criticize, namely that trying to understand the cognitive through the social loses sight of the local accomplishments which are explicit in the analytical detail. Housley and Fitzgerald (2009) do equally respond to assert that in their view the social facts should not be muddled with the psychological. However, I think that the DA model is useful to me, as I am a member of the area I am analyzing, I feel that my unique adequacy of this is helpful to my interpretation of the situation, especially in the third piece of analysis where I discuss issues with my colleagues. In analyzing the

speech using discourse analysis the purpose will be to examine the accountability of the individual within the framework of the ideologies that prevail. This means, in line with Cicourel's assertions there will be an overview of the ideologies (macro) and a micro examination of how this is both represented and carried out in practice. Techniques used in discourse analysis can overlap with those used in CA but are then examined in the wider context. Potter and Wetherall (1987) highlight that the difference between CA and DA is not always clear, but they assert that a discursive examination is valuable.

6.7 – Summary of ethnomethodology

This chapter has explored the literature on Ethnomethodology as this will be used to bridge the gap in the constructivist literature. Dowling (2007) states that EM is within the tradition of social constructivism. It is used to examine the detail of settings and actions that other methodologies tend to overlook. Far from seeing members as cultural dopes, Garfinkel (1967) felt that members have to be fully aware of the setting and use it to create social order through their interactions. The key to using this method of interpretation is the use of indexicality and reflexivity. Garfinkel (1967) argued that members were acutely aware of their setting and used instant reflection to respond to the previous interaction. Far from being planned actors, there was a need for them to constantly react to the last participants interactions. EM is useful as it allows me to demonstrate how these other concepts of constructivism play out in everyday life. I will now go on to explain how I have used ethnomethodogical techniques.

Chapter 7 - My methods and data collection.

Within the body of existing research, as noted in the literature review, the growth of HE is a recognized societal phenomenon. My personal experience, recognition of the societal issues, and the existing body of research all help to provide strength to the research objectives (Alvesson and Sandberg 2013).

Data has been collected from 2012 to 2017. The unit of analysis, which informed the data collection, as outlined in the objectives, was the practicing academic and also the manager academic. Data has therefore been collected with this understanding.

My overall objective was to 'behaviourise' the workplace of HE, more specifically, two post 1992 universities. I collected data from two universities with the purpose of using this as a document of practice to understand how this fitted with the wider literature. Given that EM is about understanding situated action and the situated actors within it, (Garfinkel 2006), my data collection was oriented to be immersed in situations that gave me access to such data. As previously stated, a key influence for me, was Wieder's study of a half-way house (1974). Wieder started with an ethnographic study of the half-house and then followed this with an ethnomethodological study of what this meant in practice. My literature review shows the many concepts and theories which are widely written about in HE and my research is designed to show what this mean in practice.

Rawls (2008) asserts that people who come together in work will have common knowledge of organisational practice, regardless of their background. This is what makes EM so interesting, as although there are contextual issues for all, everyday accounting practices based on common knowledge, will be observable in situations like conferences, meetings and lectures.

It is difficult to defend the use of methods in EM by drawing on the conventional approaches that are used in qualitative research. Miles, Huberman and Saldana (2014) state that purposive data gathering should be grounded in theory and the literature review put forward would advocate that there is much theory that could be used to inform the methods that are used. However, ten Have (2004) states that EM is interested in members methods and as such has a more practical than theoretical approach to the methods used in the studies. Under conventional rules of qualitative research, the literature review would also indicate an abductive nature to this study. This is something that ten Have (2004) also examines. Analytic inquiry, of which EM is, means that there is a need to understand the practices and the theories which have informed them, but EM is interested in the common sense of actual practice. However, common sense is primarily 'invisible' (ten Have 2004) as it is the constitutive practice of everyday accomplishment. This leaves ethnomethodological inquiry with a peculiar problem of justifying methods used in terms of general qualitative research. The literature review sets up an epistemology which indicates that this study is theory informed, the research is then designed to illustrate the daily accomplishment of this theory informed environment. Small (2009) notes the dilemma for qualitative researchers to justify their sampling using quantitative techniques. As noted by Small, I am not trying to make this generalizable by asserting my number of cases are satisfactory or representative, this is not of relevance to EM, nevertheless I have tried to build a picture from 'enough' data to enhance my interpretation of the data. Miles, Huberman and Saldana (2014) state that one data gathering may lead to another, and this is how I have worked. I have aimed to find as many people who are willing to participate, and also give a rounded view of working in the world of academe. My unit of analysis was primarily the student-facing academic with both teaching and research commitments, but I also examined the practices of manager academics, initially to understand the academic

tensions, but this in itself has become an area I have included in my study. I tried to gather data from a range of places, so as it be able to understand the role of academics as this fitted with my objectives. The sample size is small, relying on twenty-one settings, to enable more in depth, richness to the data as they are all people who are close enough to me, to trust me and be open with me. I have included myself in the sample, through my reflections, but also through recording my discussions of my own consideration of breaches, in my discussions with my colleagues. I relate to the experience of Morriss (2016) who carried out an ethnomethodological study on her own work colleagues, leaving her feeling 'strange' as she fought her familiarity and uncovered practices which made her feel disloyal to her friends and embarrassed by her own practices. I have included my own examples and even the practices that I judge 'not my best', by trying to be indifferent to the issue of rightness and wrongness in the setting.

Miles, Huberman and Saldana (2014) state the importance of initially bounding the selection criteria for a study, although this will need to be reviewed and rebounded throughout, and this is explained in my narrative here, as I illustrate how I undertook my study. My starting point for this study had been from reading extensively about the impact of managerialism so I started with the senior managers within the institute that I worked at the time. I knew that part of my study needed to explore the issue of the tension of managing, as implied by the literature. Having been a member of staff both on the managerial side and the academic side, I knew the senior management team well, giving me access to contact them easily. I felt that, given the nature of EM being the study of the accomplishment of everyday life, and my study was within the organisational context of university life, that this convenience sampling method was within the bounds of appropriate. In order for the data to be useful, there was also a need for high trust, so the fact I had previously worked with most of them, would lead to higher trust and would be advantageous to data collection (Garfinkel 1967). This

meant that I was following a method of purposive, but also convenience sampling. For the purpose of this study, it seemed advantageous to do so (Miles, Huberman and Saldana 2014), as already stated.

To start with I e-mailed the deans, introducing myself within my new role (although they already knew, it was more a formality), explaining that I was embarking on a PhD, and outlining the purpose of my study and explaining what I was trying to investigate and why. I chose the deans, as they are academic managers and as my objectives were around the issue of investigating the tensions and everyday activities of academics with multiple commitments. I did not give too much detail around which activities I was keen to observe, but asked permission to observe any meetings, leaving them the opportunity to invite me to attend. Three deans came back to me and invited me to attend three different meetings. Boden (1994) describes meetings as an

> 'arena of organizational activity for management, locating and legitimating both individual and institutional roles' (pg. 81).

This was not a definition that I gave to the deans, but as I was keen to gather data wherever I could, I went where I was invited. I outlined in my e-mail to them, that they could pass this on to their staff and I could attend meetings further down the hierarchy of the organization, however, due to me changing jobs this did not happen. This sounds like my data gathering was not considered, but as stated by Miles, Huberman and Saldana (2014); there is a need to reconsider this as the study unfolds.

The first meeting included in the analysis was a meeting of just academic-managers. I felt that the meeting was a good insight into how tensions were formulated. This

was a meeting of academic managers who met monthly to discuss the ongoing issues within their faculty. The purpose of the meeting was twofold, firstly it was to meet and discuss the different departmental issues and secondly to consider the wider issues of the organisation and how these would be implemented within the faculty. The meeting took a relatively informal stance but minutes were taken from this meeting, and minutes from the previous meeting were discussed. At the beginning of the meeting it was highlighted in the discussion that this one was slightly different to the usual ones, as there was only one item on the agenda, and this was strategic planning.

The second meeting was a conference so there was a lot of interaction between academics and manager academics. This was held as an annual meeting and was also linked to the Christmas meal. There was an agenda and strict timings set out for the day. Minutes were not taken throughout the day, but certain tasks were set, and feedback was expected, and further action was expected after the conference finished. This was a mix of formal and informal. The agenda and timings set a formal tone. The accomplishment of the day was through following strict guidelines in line with a classroom-based style but the approach to these was more informal in terms of how the participants interacted outside of the lecture format. This was a large group of people (over 100), set in a teaching room.

The third meeting was between university administrators and academics. This meeting was to determine a subject review of programmes, it was quite formal in its tone and very much run to the items set in the agenda. This was a small group of people (approximately 10), set in a meeting room.

I offered to tell everyone at all three meetings of the reason for my presence. In the first and last meeting, as they were smaller gatherings, disclosure of my purpose was

necessary and given, although as the third meeting was my own faculty, my presence was not a surprise. In the conference, it was deemed unnecessary by the dean. I was told 'you will get better information if you don't.'

People asked me, as the conference progressed, and I gave explanations. I generally found that when asked and I explained, people were very helpful and keen to participate, as there is a general understanding of the importance of research. Likewise, I did feel that I was working within a group, who fully understood the objectives of my research. However, mindful of sensitivity, I have also ensured that I do not disclose anything personal. I have merely focused on the mundane (Garfinkel 1967).

I carried out three other observations in these early stages, which have been used to inform my analysis, but are not included. At the same time as I e-mailed the deans, I also e-mailed colleagues to ask if I could observe their lectures. Again, three people invited me to their lectures. I recorded one and took notes in two others. Having explained my purpose, they allowed me to observe. In all lectures observed the lecturer gave their students explanations for my presence, but this did not seem to cause any curiosity, as it is common for lecturers to observe each other, as part of peer review. However, the data from these lecture observations was not used for anything other than reflection, to consolidate the other data used. This was due to me changing jobs and bounding the second analysis within a new context.

I used an Apple-recording device, and stored the data initially in my iTunes account, which I then converted to MP3's and stored on my desktop and removed the initial recording from my iTunes account. Although I trust the governance of Apple, I did this to reduce the risk of hacking, as the data is no longer in 'the cloud' so less

vulnerable. I then transcribed the data myself, by listening and annotating, word for word what was said.

As I have sought the permission of the key participants, but have also got data from others, I was mindful to ensure anonymity and security of personal information. Nothing has been used which could embarrass or implicate any individual.

The recordings used in the first analysis are data analysed to understand the reflexivity of conversation (Garfinkel 1967). The data is scrutinized after the event but the detail is accurate to the event in a way that ethnographic notes would not be. In line with Sacks' imperative for analysis (Silverman 1998), I have tried to avoid general representation, and have used detailed transcripts. I have bounded my data for this set of analysis, as meetings with management conversations, as this allows for the study of fine detailed behaviours of management issues. The use of recorded data enables me to look at the micro details, not just glosses of what is usually taken-for-granted. These principles of Sacks' (Silverman 1998), in line with Garfinkel's (1967) are designed to make the 'ordinary' a topic. This initial analysis section was to build up a picture of context, and a deeper understanding of the organisation of management members within an HEI. It applies the principles of EM, CA and MCA.

The second section of analysis was applying the principles of EM and CA to the academic/ student experience. I had moved jobs, to another institute, which enabled me to gather data from a second post 1992 institution. I approached the chair of the ethics committee to discuss my collecting data within a new establishment. I was told that my initial ethics form for my PhD covered this so I just needed to get individuals to agree. These observations took place between 2014 and 2016.

Again, I chose a method of convenience sampling (Miles, Huberman and Saldana 2014). I e-mailed colleagues in my own department and those I worked with in collaborative teaching in other business school departments. I offered to observe as part of peer review, a process used in universities to provide support and feedback in both teaching and research work. I explicitly asked people if I could use my observations for my study, outlining my purpose.

I carried out nine observations altogether. I initially started with an ethnographic approach, annotating my observations, but not recording. In the later observations I asked to record. I recorded five on my Apple device and asked for the recordings of two of the lectures, as Panopto was used, a university device to video record lectures to enable students to go back and watch them again. These recordings are primarily for the students, but such recordings allow even more detail, in terms of my analysis, as I am not relying so heavily of my notes or memory. Panopto is also an example of a surveillance tool (Foucault 1977). It is framed as for the benefit of the student, but there are many academics who resist it.

My recordings, again, I converted into MP3s and stored on my computer, deleting from icloud. The Panopto recordings are stored by the university. As this data primarily belongs to them. These recordings were transcribed and then compared against the work of Garfinkel (2002) who applied the documentary method to a lecture in 1972.

Students were informed of my presence and the fact it was recorded by me, most lecturers did mention that I was there to observe them, as they were my primary focus. Indeed, my objectives were to understand the role of academics better, but in order to understand the shared social environment this has meant looking at the social interaction with students. They were only incidental participants and I have

ensured that they are not identifiable. However, all lecture rooms in the university where this data was gathered state that lectures may be recorded, and this is a common practice and encouraged by the students, who are used to the panoptic world we live in. Lectures were never recorded without informing students, who in turn could then be mindful of their comments, and indeed as this is a public forum, for discussion. In each instance they were specifically informed of my presence and that recording was occurring. Again, I have ensured that whatever is included does not include anything sensitive, it is merely to focus on daily interactions and the shared understanding of the lecture (Garfinkel 2002), which is the purpose of this analysis. This fits with the ethical considerations that Boden (1994) applied to her research on organizational interaction. As she stated, many organisations actually gather and record data anyway, but don't think of it as an issue unless you specifically ask for it. I did specifically ask, but only of key people, so I cannot be sure that all people involved understood, however there is a general acceptance of the use of recordings amongst the student body. At no point did I encounter any resistance or objection.

Conversation analysis was applied. This allowed for the study of social order (cited in Silverman 1998). However, in line with Sacks' six methodological rules (Silverman 1998), these rules have still been met. These are; gather observational data, make recordings, be behaviourist, look at member's methods, add to concepts in social science, locate the machinery. I aim to highlight how these have been achieved for both sets of analysis. In all observations I gathered annotated observable notes as data, I made recordings in some of these observations, so that I could also apply the ethnographic notes to the recorded analysis. This fits with Rawls and Mann's (2015) assertion to the complimentary nature of ethnography and EM. By using this data, I applied my lens of looking at it from a behaviourist perspective, I applied member's methods, I used published data to demonstrate my understanding through triangulation against the published data from Sacks, and other conversational

analysts work. By following this methodology I feel I have made a contribution to knowledge.

Potter and Hepburn (2010) note the highly organized nature of conversation, including the importance of appropriate responses, within the constraints of what is expected. I have used Jefferson's transcription symbols to indicate the orderliness of conversation including things such as overlapping symbols or speeding up symbols (see Appendix 2).

In the third section of analysis, I analysed recordings from discussion with eight academics. I have listed it as nine as I also include my part in the discussions as one of those people to analyse., I applied a convenience method of sampling (Miles, Huberman and Saldana 2014). I e-mailed academic colleagues in the business school, who were either in my department and I knew well, or I had worked with from other departments. Again, the convenience method was helpful in terms of eliciting richer information, due to high levels of trust. These were discussions using the coat hanger method (Garfinkel 1967). Discussions were started, relaying a story of an event, which I perceive as a breach and then a follow-on discussion would ensue. This could be seen as leading the participant, but in the area of EM, the follow-on discussion presupposes that the participant recognizes an element of the story and is therefore willing to build on it. It would be unethical to carry out breach experiments within the workplace, and this study has been carried out using an ethological approach, based on data gathered in natural settings. Garfinkel (1967) found breach experiments the best way to illustrate the detail of social order. The coat hanger method is a way to navigate the ethical and business issues of upsetting colleagues and students at work. Conversations, which were recorded with academics and the researcher, were then analysed using discourse analysis to show how misunderstandings of expectations had occurred. This includes a total sample of nine

academics, three of them male, six of them female, from differing levels in the hierarchy. I did try to extend this outside of this narrow range. I asked academics through a Facebook group I am a member of if they would be happy to discuss this with me. About five came forward, but some were overseas, which did not fit with my research objectives. In the end I did interview one UK academic, and one other came forward, but we could not arrange a suitable date for both of us. So, I discounted the one interview from the analysis and stuck to the boundary of my own institution. This data was gathered in early 2017.

Sampling methods in published ethnomethodological work tend to follow this pattern. The issue of data collection is more about the context, than how individuals within it are sampled. However, Rawls and Duck (2017) do outline their sampling method, in their study of black males in high status jobs. This study has informed my third set of analysis, which is a replication of this in style. In their study they had eight in their sample. I have nine in mine, however it should be noted, that I have included myself as one of these, as I took part in the conversations with them. It is not usual to include oneself in the analysis, but this does not mean it is wrong to do so. Indeed, Garfinkel (2002), along with his colleague Sudnow, included their reflections in their study of lecturing (Garfinkel 2002).

In order to gather ethological data, there is a need to study what is 'natural' and therefore I have tended to gain access to people who I associate with, through my work, and also used my own experiences to add to the authenticity of the discussion (Goffman 1959). People are more likely to 'act more natural' when they feel a sense of familiarity, this is why I chose people that I know and work with already. Tavery and Timmermans (2014) state that abductive researchers engage in four intertwined activities; the gathering of observations, reading of a range of theoretical standpoints, systematically working these out with the observations and actively participating in

the community of inquiry. I have gathered data from a number of places within the field of study (HE) and I have considered how my observations fit with the extant literature which has been reviewed, considering a number of viewpoints within this in my application of the ethnomethodological methods used. I have also included myself within the research, as I am an active part of that community. Garfinkel (2002) refers for the need to apply one's personal unique adequacy in interpretation, which therefore means that the researcher needs to have enough knowledge to understand the everyday accountable actions that are observed, he states they must be 'vulgarly competent' (Garfinkel 2002, pg. 176). In order to accomplish everyday activity and to analyse this activity, the researcher must be competent in that activity, to a level to be able to 'make strange' that activity. I have also relied in my unique adequacy to observe others who I see as holding the same level of competence and knowledge of the situation as myself. This means that observations of lectures have been of academics within business schools in post 1992 universities. Any data used within this study is from an academic account of working in HE in the UK, either my own, or another, who has permitted me to understand their working accomplishments.

In the third set of analysis the data and transcriptions are stored on my desktop, as MP3 files and transcriptions documented in Word.

The next chapter will outline the data analysis that has taken place from using these methods.

Chapter 8 – Data analysis

The analysis will be set out in three different sections as three separate sets of analyses took place. These will be explained in turn here, with further details at the beginning of each section.

The first section of analysis sets out to examine interactions with university members in management positions, with other university participants, such as academics with teaching and research responsibilities, administrators, other managers or students. This was done to build an understanding of how the culture of a post 1992 university is displayed in the day-to-day interactions. Bittner (1965) argues that prevailing theories of organization see the organization as a "thing", whereas the concept of this thing is only brought to us though the everyday actions of its members and how they understand this concept. The members of the organisation will exploit this concept to achieve their own ends and will see the procedures, rules and resources available as things which help them achieve their role in the organisation.

Through listening to taped conversations and applying rules of CA created by Sacks (Silverman 1998) and rules of MCA (Hester and Eglin 1997) the researcher builds up a descriptive picture of the intricacies of daily accomplishment. This helps to understand how the participants within the university use their daily interaction to produce meaningful accounts of their work. This is also drawing on the work of Garfinkel (1967) to make the familiar strange, by questioning these interactions and looking beyond what is just accepted as the course of 'work'. Wider literature is sometimes referenced in the analysis to compare a theoretical approach to how the participants may have conceptualized their understanding of the organization they work in.

It is worth noting that distributed cognition, as proposed by Cicourel (1974), is not from reading literature, Rawls (2008) highlights that we do all enter the workplace with some understanding of expectation, even on our first day. With information readily available on the internet and schools offering advice and work experience, as well as young people listening to their care-givers accounts of work, scaffolding does occur before we enter the workplace. The use of literature will help to build an understanding of the macro environment, but distributed cognition is not really a large part of the analysis in section one. The use of literature here is used more to highlight how other methods of inquiry, or formal analysis as Garfinkel calls it (2002) may contrast with an analytic inquiry of members methods. By looking at these conversations in detail the purpose is to illuminate what is taken-for-granted and to cause us to further question the phenomenon of what it is to produce a university through the practical daily action of its members.

The section of analysis will partially address research objective one, but is more geared towards addressing research objective two, three and four. After each transcription the speech will be examined using Conversation Analysis (Silverman 1998). This analysis is not looking to further this area of research, but to apply what is known to the transcription to highlight our understanding of that transcription. It will then apply analytic inquiry though the lens of Membership Category Analysis (MCA) where appropriate to the transcription (Hester and Eglin 1997). This is to understand how members understand and produce the phenomena that are outlined in the literature review. This is done with the use of the documentary method as used by Garfinkel (1967) as a method of describing the ethno-methods of the participants. This is generally with the use of performance features shown as =(performance feature)= (Garfinkel 1967), to document the interpretation. The documentary method uses this symbol to highlight members methods, this will be explained further in the second section of analysis where it is used extensively. Here

in section one, a general ethnomethodological account is given with some use of the documentation of performance features, shown in =()= brackets. CA is to show the mechanics of conversation, whereas MCA and EM give an analytic understanding of the contextual richness of the data and its members use of conversation. Each application (CA, MCA, EM) will be indicated in the analysis. Any macro understanding will also be stated within the analysis.

In the second section of analysis the documentary method is applied to a set of lectures. This study replicates and builds on work done by Garfinkel (2002) in the 1970's. This is further explained in section two. The documentary method means treating the lecture as 'a document of' the practical accomplishment of the performance of what is a lecture. This allows for the analysability of actions-in-context, to show how practical accomplishment occurs (Garfinkel 1967). By using the symbols of =(performance feature)=, this allows the actual activity of 'the lecture' to be documented and therefore analysed by making strange what is normally seen as familiar. This is fundamental to the analytic inquiry of members methods using the lens of EM. EM is the key method used here, but there are places where transcriptions are included within the analysis. Here, CA and MCA will also be used and again their use will be indicated within the analysis section. This helps us to understand what is it about the activity, known as a lecture, that makes it seem recognisable to the term we know of as a 'university lecture'. This second section of analysis is to achieve research objective four, but also partially achieves research objective two.

The third section of analysis attempts to broaden the perspective. This is to achieve research objective one and three. This section does not contain any transcriptions and is not using CA or MCA. It is drawing on the principles of EM through examining accounts by academics as to how they have made sense of their work and how they

use these sensemaking tools to traverse their everyday working lives. This section draws on Garfinkel's (1963) work on 'trust' and is influenced by, and replicates, the design of work by Rawls and Duck (2017) on issues of race in high status black males. Whilst this section of analysis is not an examination of race issues, it is looking at discrepancies of expectation which the work of Rawls and Duck (2017) also seeks to uncover. This section will be drawing on the principles of EM and using DA which has its roots in CA (Silverman 1998) whilst remaining aware of the wider context to give a macro sociological explanation. Here speech will be used in its raw form, it will not be coded using the Jefferson transcription method, but will be left untampered and unfinished, as speech usually is (Garfinkel 1967). This is in keeping with the style of the paper that has influenced this section of analysis, and also recognizing that, although I have called these discussions not interviews, it is generally not seen as appropriate to apply CA to interviews as they are not naturally occurring (Silverman 1998). The section of analysis is drawing on ethnographic interpretation yet applying an EM lens as explained further in this section.

8.1 - Analysis part one – early research: examining interactions between managers with academics or with managers.

These recordings were collected in either late 2012, or early 2013. They were initially recorded with a view to analysis using an ethnographic approach to help understand the issues of managing within academia, but they have then been approached with an ethnomethodological lens so as to demonstrate an understanding of how these issues are accomplished, or carried out through the interactions of participants in the work environment.

There is interplay in this section between ethnography and EM. Firstly, CA is used to illustrate the mechanisms of conversation as they are produced by participants, then MCA is applied to consider the conversation within the context and examine the richness through a contextually inferred understanding. Lastly an ethnomethodological mindset is applied to allow further analytic inquiry of participants production of their environment. The data is also sometimes examined through an interpretive lens, applying cultural understanding and interpretation to the setting, through application of the wider literature to show the more 'formal analytic' route. This can then be compared to the participants understanding.

These three meetings were observed in three different faculties. This section of analysis differs from the other two areas of analysis as the other two have focused on the business school thus using the same context as a unit of analysis. This was because the analysis in this section was initially gathered to look at the issue of management, and a broader view of the university as a whole was helpful. The purpose of this part of the analysis was to look at the interactions between managers, between managers and academics, or even, in one part, between academics and students with the view to understanding how interaction order played out amongst the participants, showing their understanding of their environment.

The first meeting was a meeting of academic managers who are the leading managers in an education faculty. The purpose of this meeting was to outline objectives cascaded from the university strategy.

The second meeting was a faculty conference for a health sciences faculty, again to outline a strategic direction and some actions for the forthcoming year.

The third meeting was in the business school to discuss provision of programmes and review them in terms of their effectiveness. This explanation gives a broad context to help the reader to understand the context of the meeting. Two of these meetings consisted of a very small group of people, one group was eight people, one group, somewhere between ten and fifteen (I'm not sure); one was a large group of members for the faculty.

The examples put forward in this section are to set a scene of how daily accomplishment of university work is perceived and therefore done, by both managers and academics and how this role of =(doing management)= is approached. When applying the documentary method, Garfinkel (2002) would use the symbol =()= to show a performance feature. What this means is that =(doing management)= is a signal to the reader of the performance features that will be documented as 'being a manager' through everyday action. Performance feature symbols are used regularly throughout this analysis.

All three meetings were opened with an outline of the purpose and an agenda, which is proposed to be followed. Boden (1994) states that the use of agendas shows how formal the organization is and they are also used as a devide to create social order. Universities are hierarchal and formal. Formal meetings are usually conducted with agendas and, in this analysis, I am more interested in issues of interaction to create the social order than with topic ordering through the use of an agenda. Agendas were used in all meetings to some extent, but these are not so much the topic of analysis, nevertheless it is helpful to understand that this has been done in all three situations before these interactions have occurred. Where the Jefferson trancription system is applied, and conversational analysis tools are used, the text will appear in a different font. There are also some quoted references, which

are seen as discursive and therefore appear as ordinary text, to differentiate them from the extracts in which CA is used.

Within this section of analysis there are 12 transcriptions. These transcriptions are numbered 1 to 12. Transcriptions 1 to 5 are from the faculty conference in the health sciences. Transcriptions 6 to 8 are taken from the management meeting in the education faculty. Transcriptions 9 to 12 are from the meeting in the business school. At the start of each transcription there is a heading to indicate this aspect and indicate context to the reader.

Something that was noted in all three meetings is that although all the meetings contained managers who were interacting with non-managers or other managers, the subject of management and managing was seen as troublesome.

In formal analytic inquiry (referred to as FA (Garfinkel 2002)), Hughes (1958) refers to troublesome aspects of any job as the 'dirty work'. He draws on issues of sociological status in any work profession to highlight that some aspects of the work will be favoured in terms of how they are seen to others. This, he states, can be seen in how any worker/professional describes themselves to you. Work can be seen as dirty, either because of the physical or moral aspects of the job and how this is perceived by society. Like most aspects of our society, jobs tend to be seen in a hierarchy. Some jobs are regarded more highly than others. Not only are jobs hierarchal but aspects of those jobs also have a hierarchy. As already mentioned, HE is hierarchal, and status will therefore be evident. Through the scrutiny of conversations in higher education I propose that the title of manager can be seen as 'dirty work' and that academic work is given priority over the work of the manager. Hughes does acknowledge that all jobs have aspects of dirty work. Managing seems to be seen as the most troublesome area, a 'symbol of degradation, something that

wounds one's dignity.' (Hughes 1958, pg49) in HE. Hughes highlights the dilemma in all professions that there is a need to keep the dirty work as separate from the good work. In all three meetings there were members of the meetings who were both academics and managers and this FA theory coupled with analysis of participant's conversations illustrates this issue.

Drawing on the theory of footing (Goffman 1981), it is observed in these meetings that managers will prioritise the footing of other aspects of their identity before they will come from a footing of manager. This means that they will invoke their identity of something other than manager, rather than use their identity of manager. This is most noticeable in the first two meetings. This also relates to a sociological concept that Goffman calls 'role distance' (1961). He states that embracing or distancing oneself can be a way of expressing the difference of an obligation to a role and an actual affiliation to performance for individuals. A person may embrace a role to hide their indifference or lack of confidence, or simply because the situation requires it, or may distance themselves from a role to protect the individual psychology.

> 'Situated roles that place an individual in an occupational setting he feels is beneath him are bound to give a rise to much role distance,' (Goffman, 1961 pg. 106.)

Goffman's work is often classed as similar to Garfinkel's (1967). In the faculty conference for the health faculty, it was noticeable that for the majority of his address to the members of the conference, the dean came from a footing of a health professional, rather than a lead manager of a faculty. He drew on his work, chairing meetings, for health publications and rankings within the profession to demonstrate the successes of the faculty, before he used internal ranking or measurements as a benchmark of success. This technique was used to show allegiance to the

discipline, which is considered one of the most important aspects of academic identity (Henkel 2005, Fanghanel 2012). Using techniques from CA and MCA we can see how the narratives plays out this emphasis. When the speaker (the dean) is talking about his role in the faculty, he tends to use his experience and the use of 'I' to show his role in influencing the discipline. He is informing his faculty members of his role on relevant boards and chairing of committees to do with research. His footing changed to one of manager with authority, only when he wished to show himself using his status to show his influence within the university. By using 'I' in this context, he is affiliating with his discipline, he is accounting his membership to this group (Sacks, cited in Sidnell 2010)

Within the faculty narrative, the emphasis was on the success of the discipline, but threaded into the story were managerial aspects, which were presented as 'troublesome' and then, they were deliberately taken from a footing of manager. Again, these were done to show allegiance to the discipline.

Health faculty Conference

Transcript 1

D: And the student↑ experience↓ will percolate through this um(.) from time to time (0.2) and when the vice chancellor comes this afternoon I have no doubt at a:ll because I have briefed him(.) that he will talk about the student experience.

Applying CA, this can be seen as a beginning of a narrative. As the dean is the only person talking in here, I am not analysing it as an interaction, but as the beginning of a storytelling. This is a formal setting, no response is expected from recipients to his

talk, they do not need to signal they are listening in the sense of making relevant sounds to indicate this, but their appropriate laughter at opportune moments is seen as a signal of this. His mention, twice, of the student experience is an invitation to his listeners that this is a subject of importance. If we apply the rule (Sidnell and Stivers 2013) of not telling them what they already know, this could be seen as an exception as this is on the agenda, however, here the dean gives it a context by chaining it to a previous event. This previous event being his meeting with the vice chancellor. This both signals to the recipients that this is an ongoing issue, related to previous conversations, and also that this is pre planned in the accomplishment of ongoing work.

Applying principles of MCA and EM, here is evidence of =(doing management)= as the dean has explicitly made reference to his briefing the vice chancellor, this is very much a management activity. Both dean and vice chancellor are categories associated with a university and management. The use of the term vice chancellor is a category bound inference. Using Sacks' analogy there are many inferences that can be drawn from this use of the term vice chancellor, but not all will be relevant. What this shows to the listener is that someone of importance is coming to talk to them as vice chancellor is a category that is seen at the top of the hierarchy. This storytelling device is signaling the importance of the topic by the fact it will be spoken about by the vice chancellor. Membership categories are inference rich, and the hearer's maxim means that the categories are used with the intention that the hearer will draw inference, as these are based on shared cognition. The category of vice chancellor is known to be above the category of dean in the management hierarchy. This is threaded into the presented narrative as an inference of the faculty/ discipline influencing the central management group, or even of the individual exerting influence of higher authority individuals. This is not explicitly stated, which would, if so explained be seen as 'odd'. But this leaves the hearer with the chance to draw

inferences from the rich monologue presented to them. It is inferred that the dean has influenced the vice chancellor in his choice of topic.

In this second transcript, with the use of MCA and also applying an EM lens, the Dean also shows disdain for =(doing management)=, when it is not properly prioritized, by criticising a comment by the previous vice chancellor. and uses language to demonstrate the importance of the discipline values over the management values. In his speech he makes continuous reference to the importance of relationship building, and how this is emphasised in the health care environment. He accounts for how trust and relationship building is key to the caring profession. He gives examples of the commitment of the faculty to building up partnerships, and how easy it is for such partnerships to be ruined.

Health faculty conference

Transcript 2

and Suzi will know(.) that when↓ the previous vice chancellor put his foot in it↑ with the National↓ Charter Trust(0.2)Um(.) all of the work we have done before(.) and much of the recovery work (.) was undermined by one loose comment↓ on one bad d:ay.

Applying CA, there is evidence of a tying device. By using the name of another, the dean invites agreement, if not participation (which is the usual reason for such a

device), but in this environment the dean has the floor, so this is a response token to the faculty deputy to respond with acknowledgement.

This is an explicit criticism of a manager for not =(doing management)= correctly. FA tells us that scapegoating those that have left an organization (Boeker 1992), is a common management practice, but this can also be interpreted as not understanding the position of the discipline. Prior knowledge being that the previous vice chancellor was not a health professional.

Drawing on membership category analysis (MCA) and the use of membership category devices (MCD), we can see this as a device for drawing on the cultural resource of insider knowledge of the faculty. In this particular setting this tool is not so much blaming or scapegoating but demonstrating understanding of the discipline. Sacks (cited in Silverman 1998) argued that MCD was a procedural way of invoking membership, although a researcher has to be mindful of the dangers of stating the commonsense (Schegloff LC2, cited in Silverman 1998). The category of vice chancellor is a category which the dean has linked to the inference that he 'may not understand' the academic discipline of the faculty. This is used by the dean who infers his category is linked to the faculty and being bound to the discipline. This strengthens the group membership feeling. The use of a tying device to Suzi is also inference rich. This individual is also a manager academic in the faculty and this direct naming links them to this category along with the dean.

So far the dean has not mentioned his title and his use of category devices in this second transcript has been to infer his allegiance to his discipline, but in this next transcript he is explicit about his role of dean and the trouble that goes with that.

Health faculty conference

Transcript 3

(([noisy assemblage]

someone shouts okay.

The room starts to quieten

Dull rumbling))

M: [One of the things I have learnt as a dean is that (.) the rumour mill >tends to pass< (room named) b::y (.) more >often than not< and gossip certainly tends to pass (.) (room named) by,(0.1) um, I'm usually the last to (0.1) urm, learn (.) theee er the >really important things that matter in the faculty<, bu::t on ↑this occasion rumour had it↓ that (.) um, er (.) >some, some people were looking for any excuse to do anything else< (.)other than to come today

[laughter]

Um, er, so I am delighted that there are around 100 people present(.), um, urm, and I'm standing between you and your

15 Christmas lunch which feels like a very risky
hh. place to be.
((laughter happens over the last bit))

Starting from a CA perspective, we can note that someone else has shouted okay, to recognise the turn of the dean. The dean then starts what is called a 'troubles telling'. Whilst it is recognised that this is a setting where someone(i.e. the dean) will take to the floor. However, in conversation, given that normally there is no guarantee that your turn will last longer than an average turn, those taking the turn tend to signal this is a story and a long turn is signalled, as if it is not entirely 'a given'. One type of story preface is to show some form of recollection so his opening line of 'one of the things I have learnt is…' shows his intent to tell a story. The context of the formal environment this may not seem necessary, but this is the speech convention that is even followed in this particular setting, despite the fact there is no need for it. Once again, this is a formal setting, no response is required but hearers give this in the form of laughter, a response token. The use of laughter signals they are listening and responding. Response tokens are used as mechanisms to help in the ordered interaction of speech. Interactional devices used in conversation are still applied in this setting. Goffman (1981) asserts that 'fresh talk' is preferred in lectures, and this conference environment is no different. Announcing arrivals at a formal event can follow very formal rules of announcement, but the talk of lectures and conferences is a hybrid of formal and 'normal' speech.

Applying principles of MCA the dean hearably acknowledges himself as the category of dean, which is a role that is tied to a university. He is in the group of university staff that are seen as senior managers, but a category bound activity of this, which he states is that he is therefore not included in the everyday talk of the academic team

that he manages. He is demonstrating an understanding of what this means in terms of his exclusion from many faculty conversations. By stating this, he is binding his role as dean to the category of not included. He demonstrates the troublesome nature of his position. Most senior management positions in universities are held by academics, thus meaning they are part of the category of manager and part of the category of academic, but these two do not necessarily sit well together. This is what Broadbent (2011) calls a hybrid manager. Drawing on the earlier point, a category may have many predicates and these predicates are not all relevant in all situations. By talking about this issue, the dean is making it a part of the participants understanding. Exclusion from the group is not the preferred option, hence this is a troubles-telling, and the troubles teller, here the dean, is explicit in his understanding of his membership of the group 'dean' and his understanding that this is troublesome in terms of membership to all activities of the wider group of 'faculty'. He is also showing 'troubles-receptiveness' by the manner in which he is stating this fact. He could be seen to put others in a position of unease, but this is done deliberately in such a way to show his understanding of the dilemma. Jefferson (1996), highlights this is as a technique used in interactions to deal with troublesome topics. By starting on this topic, the dean could be putting people in a difficult position but he laughs to indicate the nature of the joke and they join in to show that they appreciate his candour. Jefferson (1996) highlights that the signal of laughter from the speaker demonstrates the understanding of the troublesome topic. Having started on this footing (Goffman 1981), the dean proceeds to use language to emphasise his inclusion within the membership group, but then threading in more managerial issues within the membership topics to make the subject matter more palatable.

Jefferson (1996a) refers to unpublished work by Sacks in 1976, that some subjects are controversial or embarrassing, and interaction devices such as laughter or joking are used to show the recipient that this is understood.

Applying an EM lens to this transcript, the dean is =(doing management)= as a troublesome topic. By highlighting his problem he is being open about his position and he is inviting the group to repair this. They duly do so, with the use of laughter. Jefferson (1998, cited in Sidnell and Stivers 2013) explains that this is using a story to produce an action of affiliation. The storyteller is explaining the story to invite the affiliative response from the hearer. The orientation of the group is for the purpose of improving group cohesion. This recognition of the issues is done to produce engagement with the group purpose, which is to improve student experience, as we have been told, although currently this is s secondary topic.

This is also shown in another part of the conference when a student is brought in to talk about their student experience. An interaction occurs between the student and a lecturer. In recognition of the troublesome topic that the 'student experience' is. The concept of 'student satisfaction' arises out of the distasteful areas of marketization and managerialism as mentioned in the literature review. It is used in various league table measurements. There is an interaction between a lecturer and a student who is brought in to the conference to discuss this. Customer issues are tied into the 'dirty work' of academics (Hughes, 1958)

Health faculty conference

Transcript 4

1 R: >It did bring up my confidence↑<, (.) I think from (0.1) sorry Nigel you're the only one that is here. I think everyone will know that (I'm quite nervous)

[laughter]

N: I feel good, I feel good.

[quiet laughter]

N: no, its good, its good. The boss is here, I'm getting paid

[louder laughter]

N Thanks Rache

R: No… I think Nigel would actuall::y (.) back me up on //this (.), that I was quite quiet↑

N: //Hmm

R: I didn't (0.1) used to talk at all in his class,(.) I dunno, >maybe you're doing something wrong there Nigel<

[light laughter]

R: But no, (.)I've built confidence

It is worth noting that, once again, this is a large group setting and the floor is taken by invitation. Having the floor is a formal setting and in the context of a large group it is likely to lead to storytelling. Boden (1994) calls business meetings 'planned gatherings' (pg 84), and this is a large meeting with the purpose of imparting information. The information here is imparted by a student. She invites the attention of a lecturer who is present (a tying device), but also apologises for doing this. Applying CA principles, this could have many meanings, but those present will interpret through the relevant ones. The student is addressing a room full of lecturers. Applying CA and MCA rules, if this transcription was viewed without the context that is being given this might be seen as perverse. Such an utterance as the

student addressed the lecturers would be corrected to say the lecturer is addressing a room full of students. The use of the apology and also the aside that she is nervous, may infer to the audience, that she is aware of this. She is orienting herself towards the group with this display. Her apology is a recognition of what might be seen as audacity. There is also the use of the economy rule used to address a large room. Rache states that Nigel is the only lecturer here (that she has been taught by), yet the room is full of staff who are likely to be lecturers. She gives an incomplete account, there is no need for her to state the fact she means Nigel is the only one she has been taught by, the rest of the room will understand that. Rache keeps the attention of the audience. They may also be senior lecturers, or readers, principal lecturers, but for the sake of ease, all are lumped into the term lecturer. This prevents over explanation, another CA rule.

Nigel does respond to Rache's invitation after she tells us she is nervous, but his response is a dispreferred response (Pomerantz 1996) to her. His initial "I'm good' which may be seen as encouragement but is followed by 'the boss is here' which highlights that this is more for him (the boss) than her. The further comment of 'I'm getting paid' implies that he is open to her invitation purely as it is work, he is here as a docile body (Foucault 1977). This is a dispreferred response, to her invite, but this brings on the reaction of laughter from the other hearers. Nigel has applied a rule of numbers by appealing to the majority. However, Rache still has the floor (she is at the front, Nigel is standing amongst the audience), so she uses a repair mechanism to carry on. She ignore's Nigel's joke, for this is what it is, and the laughter from other members shows their affiliation to him. She commences with 'no, I think', and brings the conversation back to her point. She then tries to use the same tool as Nigel, by using a joke, 'I think you did something wrong there'. This has two functions, it attempts to repair her singling out of him that lead to his dispreferred 'joke' response whilst also using the same technique in terms of the rules of

engagement that Nigel used. The laughter is not as strong, which implies the audience is polite enough to repair the issue, but their affiliation is with him. There appears to be a category predicatedness to the joke telling.

The category of lecturer is tied (Reynolds and Fitzgerald 2015) to the activity of caring for student. This is put forward as the normative view, and the owner of the category of lecturer (Nigel) can respond to either affirm the norm or refute it. But here the lecturer orients himself to the larger group. There is an inference to say that the reason for attendance is more one of obligation. By giving a dispreferred response he also shows the complexity in the relationship of lecturers caring for students. Note the term dispreferred. Considering EM, this is not an outright breach, there is still room for repair, and repair happens. If this is related to transcript three, the dean has already given permission for this disaffiliation in his comment about standing between the audience members and their Christmas dinner, thus indicating he is aware of this.

Jefferson (1996a) acknowledges that using a joke as a stepwise move is a way to avoid the embarrassment of such troublesome conversations. Here in the faculty conference we see jokes used to preserve membership of the faculty group, whilst still being able to discuss the troublesome topic of the student experience and the management issues of a faculty conference.

There is also an address from the associate dean; she opens with a customary reference to the agenda. She doesn't use humour to deal with her troubles talk, but she does explicitly state her membership to the group researcher. Research is generally revered over teaching in the academic profession.

Health faculty conference

Transcript 5

J: >But I just thought (.) umm (0.2) um,I >just thought of very quickly< (.) going through (.) the (.) um (0.1) the vision fo::r (.)2017 and (0.2) from the research I am engaged with for my doctorate↑ at the moment↓I find talking vision is, is (.) actually a >bit of an< anathema (.) because (.) I don't act:ually think↓ we can stee:r (.) people (quieter).

Here the associate dean is speaking. This is again a position of authority, who is employed to manage within the faculty. Applying MCA she states her category boundedness to the category of researcher. She also orients the story toward the purpose of vision. This is a business management tool.

By aligning herself to the category of researcher she also distances herself from the position of associate dean. Using role distance (Goffman 1961) from the associate dean, which is the key role for which she is attending the event on this day, she invokes her status as a researcher to disaffiliate from her task of helping to create a faculty vision. Given her task is to consider the vision, she also hearably expresses

her doubts that this is a viable solution by referring to a vision as an ‘anathema’ and stating her disbelief in docile bodies (Foucault 1977).

Considering EM principles I am struck by the name given to the event. This is a conference, a term widely adopted in academic fields and usually implying voluntary attendance. Boden (1994) refers to organisations as stable social structures and large gatherings do take on the more formal elements. There is an agenda, flip charts are used to gather ideas and information. This is also a device to indicate the ongoing nature of this discussion. These notes will be used in further meetings. I am struck by the fact that such note-taking activities are needed to create an impression of purpose and ongoing production. Boden (1994) also emphasizes that ‘organisations are us and we are them’ (Pg. 24), these formal activities give purpose to the event.

I shall now move on to examine the production of a university through some smaller meetings. In the meeting that I observed with the education management team all members invited to the meeting were there in their role of manager. The meeting was designed to bring together a management group. There was one person present who had no managerial responsibility; this individual was there to take minutes. As previously noted, this is an activity which gives continuity to the purpose of the meeting. The note taker featured very little within the conversation. She only joined in either when spoken to or in the break interval where conversation was not geared around work issues. Considering EM principles this can be interpreted as an understanding of her role in the meeting. She is not there to generate ideas, but to ensure that the ideas are documented for future use.

A key difference between this meeting and the previous analysis scenario should be highlighted. The conference was a large event where interaction happened more in

style with public audience work. In this meeting, it is a group, so interaction is oriented to group discussion and more decision oriented (Boden 1994). This is usually lead by the dean who invites contribution from others, but not always. In line with Boden's (1994) definition of formal meetings, the dean is the chair of the meeting. Members (excluding one) are all oriented to the category of managers, however, once again, management was seen as a troublesome topic, as previously evidenced in the faculty conference. In this meeting all are present in their capacity of =(doing management)= yet laughter and jokes (Jefferson 1996) are used in such a way to demonstrate that despite the firm group membership the issue of management is still troublesome.

The dean of the faculty used sarcasm to discuss the importance of =(doing management)= more often, in the form of meeting more regularly. She referred to it as 'jolly↑ good↓ news', with the intonation implying that it really was not, from the perspective of the other members.

She also recognized the troublesome topic of managing through adding laughter to her point about tracking things to ensure they get done.

Education faculty meeting

Transcript 6

S: So that if >somebody actually wanted to see< (.), y'know, (.) had a::ll personal academic tutorials h.h. taken place (0.1). There would be a trai:l from A(.)B(.)C down through faculty exec↓ down to department (.), down to

course level meetings-Now (.) clearly we have got to not let that become bureaucratic and burdensome(.), we do just need to think through (0.1) how we ↑demonstrate (.) , we know (.), what we say we're doing is happening.

She laughs that somebody might want to see the trail, thus acknowledging that this is unlikely. The use of the phrase bureaucratic and burdensome makes clear to the listener what the concern is. This sits with Sacks' (Silverman 1998) view that hearers will assign the meaning as they see relevant. Bureaucracy can be useful and necessary but is often a word used to imply tedious over lengthy processes. By adding the word burdensome the dean is being clear on the meaning she is using. This meeting is about producing decisions on the management of university but the message is to keep a light touch.

=(Doing management)= in the following scenario is very much about demonstrating group membership and problematising issues outside of the group so that the group can remain intact. However, when issues are problematised as above, this can only be done in terms of displaying difficulties. As Pomerantz (1996a) points out, the group is a group designed to manage, and although this may be done reluctantly, there is a shared understanding that the function of the group is to do just that. Pomerantz (1996) discusses the fact that assessments are invited and responses given, in any group social activity as a form of participation. Generally, one speaker invites, through the use of an adjacency pair, a preferred response from another. Here we have one speaker, the dean, offering a monologue, but with an understanding of the anticipated dispreferred response. There is anticipation of it

and an explanation for the dispreferred response is also given as would be in a group participation scenario. Where a dispreferred response is given, then usually an explanation is offered in recognition of the participatory nature of group interaction.

Prior to this transcript, one manager did make the comment that members of academic staff were not going to like the new working allocation model being proposed. This is recognition of management not being liked, as an accomplishment.

Education faculty meeting

Transcript 7

S: But the id↑ea↓ is to get it sur::faced, transparent?(.), on the record (..) and evidence based. (..) So tha: we don't have so! many people in the faculty going, oh, (.) its a dark black art. (..) Its arcane↓. Once they have a ↑look at all this , they may think, oh how boring and tedious and -- so on, but (.) at least they will know that we have genuinely made (..)an attempt to take >an evidence-based approach< to all this. (..) And it won: be perfect this year, it really wont be

((Man interjects))=

K: =An, an some departments, in the ssssecond year, some departments will be in that position(takes breath) in all fairness. It's

15 just where we're good↓ I think we are quite
good, but //where >we are bad we are horrid<
S:Yes, and its trying to, li:: surface it, so we
(..) are sharing ↓good practice, so we are
doing the >best we can<.
20
M: (…)There is, um (.) an online (..) tool that
h:s been// developed, you can load it.
S: //Excellent.=
M: =It does exist↓, it is a university wide
system, it does all the calculations of the
25
hours for you↓.=
J:=And we are expected to use that //next year.
K://Yes=
W:=That's the one designed by Millie Maynard=(name
of deputy Vice Chancellor).
30
S: =Yeah↓And that, I'm sure, Graham, if you have
not used it, talk to those that have, because
I think partic:larly its your department isn't
35 it, Jane, that's used// it? Paul, used it?
J://No, we haven't used it this year, :cause it
came out after (..)we:d already done it.

Making strange, the familiar with the use of CA, we can see that this meeting takes an informal style, and that turntaking is a regular occurrence. The dean starts the

conversation talking about the system for allocating work. She used words such as tedious and boring. She is hearably recognizing to the other participants that this is not an easy task and also recognizing the comment made just before the start of this conversation about such interferences not being popular. The orientation of the discussion is to iron out these problems. The next speaker volunteers himself, he is not invited in the turntaking process. However, he affiliates himself with the dean to orient himself to a solution of this tedious (as it is referred to) issue and his response is welcome. The dean responds back 'yes'. K makes a step wise transition away from the troublesome topic of planning to look at how this has been done, using the phrase 'to be fair'. Such techniques as step wise transitions are used to preserve the nature of the troublesome talk. This allows the subject to be returned to easily but helps in the general flow of the group. This also allows M to offer a possible solution and S to enthuse. These interactions help to keep the group orientation whilst also preserving the membership of the faculty group over the membership of the management group.

In this transcription we can see 'S' giving a rationale for the practices being proffered. There is a clear management reason, although it will not be popular outside of the group. One member is invited to give an opinion on the use of a tool but gives an excuse as to why it has not been used. Although reluctance and difficulty are accepted as group practices, management must still happen, so the excuse is what Pomerantz (1996) highlights will be accepted as a second preferred response, thus still showing allegiance to the group of management, whilst not prioritising it.

Drawing on ethnomethodology I shall give another example in this meeting which follows on from this transcript, This example is of a participant providing further rationale for a seemingly simple management prerogative. A male member of the meeting points out that as a father giving his teenage daughters what they want

would not be right for them, so sometimes, it is good not to give them what they want, so they learn valuable lessons. This participant distances himself from his management role and affiliates himself with his parent role in the context of giving a justification for acting out his management role. His discussion is about not giving his team members in the faculty (people he manages) what they want. He is justifying that is he =(doing management)= for a good reason, other than just because he is a manager and because he can.

In this final transcript from the education meeting, the use of CA uncovers the performance feature of doing =(attention to purpose)= and =(doing data scrutiny)=. But I would first like to start from an EM perspective. Drawing on my a priori knowledge, the scrutiny of data is an important feature of academic work. Whichever field of academic practice is entered by the participant, detailed attention toward the right use of data is important. My position of unique adequacy for this is my insider knowledge as an academic. This data scrutiny can be seen as =(doing research)=. Another possible inference could be that it has been wrong before. Given that this transcript is taken from a meeting, there is conversation both before and after it, but also this meeting is one in a series of meetings. Referring to Sacks' point about relevance (Silverman 1998), both could be of relevance, and the hearer will draw what conclusion they see fit.

Education faculty meeting

Transcript 8

1 M: But it is <u>vitally</u> important that we get that right.=

S:=Could I just //ask ↑about the KIS ↓

M://Yes, um=

S: = because presumably the KIS (.) is ow:ur

(.)most up to date↑ accurate↑ record ↑=

M:=well, um, you might like// to (think that)

S: //he: h: he: h He: he: he: h. h.

M: (well of course the issh:::)

S: Or it is becoming isn't// it↑

M: //the issue with the KIS of course, is the KIS

is(.) an aggregate (.) The data is aggregated

(.) aggregated(.) And its aggregated o:on on

the basis-not the whole curriculum but <u>on</u>

those units which are the most popular.

Applying principles of CA, the conversation is started by M who emphasizes the importance of this issue. As the conversation progresses we see the orientation of the group to producing an understanding of this importance. S uses a question that is deemed appropriate when one has limited rights to talk. Here M has the floor, but S uses a "can I ask", style question to signal to the group that she may have something important to ask. Given the status of each party this is a politeness as demonstrated in the next paragraph. S is the most senior position there.

Returning to the principles of EM, it is worth noting that S is the dean, who is relatively new, M therefore has more experience of what has been happening in the ongoing accomplishment of producing this university. The known facts of this can be read into the conversation and how it unfolds, but again, only if those participants present know this (as I do), but also as one would assume, all present do. S asks about KIS data, which is something that all universities collect. Here she shows her

knowledge of wider university issues, but M, still oriented to the group problem, shows prior knowledge of how this is an issue, in terms of how data is collected and used, but also here in this current context, and this situation that is being discussed. The enquiry about KIS shows that this is a separate set of data to the one being discussed initially. These are things that are not explained, but are known by the group.

Similar to the conference we see, although inferred not stated, that the academic role is accounted for as a higher status than the management role. Whilst there is a very relevant context for this in the conference used in the previous examples. What we see here is that despite the purpose of the meeting being the action of =(doing management)=, =(doing academic work)= is still preserved with the highest status. This is inferred by the scrutiny of the data, the criticism of it as done from an academic perspective, and the responsive laugh from the dean is a 'knowing' one. A recognition of the problem.

In both the education meeting and the health conference there was also the use of category ties to show greater affiliation to one group more than to another. In both these meetings, a preference was shown of academic managers to use tying techniques to show greater allegiance to the academic side of their role, than to the management side of their role.

Another EM observation documented from both meetings observed, from the faculty conference and the education meeting is the use of dis-association from the key management group. This is done to show affiliation to the group that is present. Both deans made reference to the 'centre', the senior management group, of which they are part, but using reference to this group as if they were outsiders from it. (Reynolds and Fitzgerald 2015). Their preference on this occasion is to identify themselves to

the group they are currently part of. This was also evident in Nigel's response to Rache. This was a technique that Sacks alluded to in his early lectures (Silverman 1998) and these documents of its use bring into sharp relief the production of membership.

The third meeting which was observed was run by university administrators. The university administrators are a professional group of managers within universities who run the validation and progression of the education provision. In this meeting =(doing management)= was taken very seriously. It was not treated with laughter or seen as troublesome. Similar to the other two scenarios the starting point was to talk through the agenda, which was done in a serious tone. This was the most formal meeting (Boden 1994). In contrast to the other meetings this was done in a very solemn and serious way. The agenda was strictly adhered to. In the faculty meeting, this was forgotten and returned to, with an 'Oh I suppose I should do the minutes…'. Here the purpose and scope of the meeting was laid out with a level of appropriate sincerity for the occasion.

Present in the meeting were academics, there to discuss their courses. Also present was the dean of the business school, who was there to represent the business school, as an authority. She did explain that in fact she was standing in for the gead of the department who should be present to discuss the relevant courses reviewed in the meeting. In her substituted role, she also took the role of management seriously, also possibly because this is a management school, so the discipline is oriented to management.

Applying EM principles I would like to dwell on the point of the constitution of the group. The dean made a point of announcing her substitution. At first glance this may seem unimportant, but the role she was participating in was a difficult one.

There are two very separate groups in this meeting, there are managers and there are academics. The dean is an academic manager. By explaining her substitution role she has the chance to absent herself from any difficulties if necessary. The mere fact this was stated means that it is open to this interpretation.

This first transcript is an excerpt from the meeting which is a simple organisational issue. This is about the agreeing of dates for a follow up meeting.

Business school meeting

Transcript 9

M: We've got um (0.3) Yeah, we've got (0.3) any dates, as long as it's the fourteenth or the twentyeighth h. h. basically

(laughter)

M: it's the… filling up, so I think what we need to do is perhaps…

S: Twen'yeighth, h. h.

M: the fourteenth (.) urm (0.2) and the twentyeighth (.) and then if we need to juggle things around (.), subject to what comes out of our discussions, so then I'll, then I'l (.) I'll look at that- So I think, for today's and tomorrow's, we'll (.)put those in (.) I don' know how the' fit with you guys(.)urm(.)have you got any (.)views immediately on this

Applying CA and EM principles we can see in the first statement that M offers up a statement of flexibility, with the comment that any date, but then quickly retracts this with the offering of two dates. This could be seen as a mistake or it could be seen as =(being flexible)=. Prior to this interaction there was also some discussion about this matter. Whilst M wishes to appear flexible and so makes this hearable to other participants, M then takes that offer away by showing that flexibility is not entirely feasible. This may seem unimportant, but it is worth stressing that M could have just given the dates available, which would not have given the participants the chance to see M exercise flexibility. This brings to mind the importance of being organised at work. Whilst FA literature stresses the importance of rationalisation and efficiency, this does not seem to apply to the principles of interaction. Here M is noticeably disorganised in the presentation of dates. This disorganisation gives M the chance to be both flexible and inflexible at the same time. Flexibility being how M wants to be portrayed but inflexible being the reality. On line 6 S agrees to the twenty-eighth, which technically closes the discussion, but M ignores this and carries on displaying confusion of dates to impress upon other participants that s/he is doing =(being flexible)=.Here disorganisation is not so much an 'actual state' as an interaction device to create group orientation. Lines 7-15 do not need to be uttered as the date is already agreed.

Another observation from this meeting was the issue of reactions to the use of data. Academic staff tended to query the data presented to them.

Business school meeting

Transcript 10

M: Okay↓ so (.) human resource management↓ next one down… Are we…?=

C: = I'm a ↑little bit confused by this because, [clears throat] a bit like Janice, I think we've got (0.1) it on twi:ce-we've got human recourse management and then human resource management //CIPD accre:dited…

M: //Okay=

C: = and I'm confused by the↑ student numbers by it as (h. h.) well (0.2)um.

(2 second gap)

M: Where's the other one, sorry?

C: U:::m (0.2) about four down=

M: = Four down, yeah, okay =

C: = Which has the same route code↓.=

M: =And we've got… we haven't got a one leading… well… we've got the// CIPD↑

H: //Is it a full-time course↑ or a part-time course↑=

C: =Urm (.) the CIPD course is part-time↓(clears throat)=

H: =Okay (0.2) and ↑ is there a full-time option (0.2)

C: There wa::s, and there >isn't now which is why I'm wondering about student numbers↓ because that became (.) replaced (.) by (.) um (.) > the human resource management< became the MA international HRM.

(a few seconds gap)

H:Okay (.) so: the top one↓=

C: = mm mm =

H: = Is the (.) old one-year course↓

C: Right.

H: Okay↑ And the bottom-so it's probably the link between that (.)old course becoming international human resource management as one yea:r and=

C: = Okay =

H: =You think we've shut down-we =

C: = Okay =

H: = haven't shut down yours (.) I think there's a triangulation there =

C: =Okay

H: (.) and then CIPD credited-accredited one is the two-//year course

C: //Okay =

H: = which is now in existence↓.=

45 C: = The student numbers dont fit though as well (.) cos we do have fi:ve in the first year, but we have another fifteen in the second year↓=

H: =I would =

50 C: = because they do it over two years, so I'm not quite (.) sure how that's worked.=

H: = I would check with your field administrator as to whether sh:e is aware of which students should have been on >which course<

Applying the principles of CA to the above transcript, it is a group interaction, so all members of the group (as earlier stated this is quite a large group, approximately fifteen people, maybe more) can participate. This means that all members need to be attentive to the utterances within the group to know when to participate. Boden (1994) asserts the importance of agendas and whilst this excerpt does not mention the agenda, it has already been stated that there is one and it is being strictly adhered to. M is chairing the meeting, C is a course leader and H is a member of the university administration team.

M starts by reading out the data that is being scrutinized. C then acts confused. Applying EM principles this could be seen as problematic, as the purpose of business is to be knowledgeable not confused. But this confusion is a device to disagree with the data. To state that she does not agree with the data would be a dispreferred response (Pomerantz 1996) , so confusion is used to create a more preferred response.

The administrator responds with what would normally be seen as a question 'Is this a full-time course or a part time course?', however the intonation used implies it is a statement, a response to the disagreed data. H self-selects into the interaction with a question. The question is a preferred response to C's confusion. Here the question is used to show disagreement. Questioning is a preferred response to outright disagreement. Disagreement is established through devices such as confusion and questioning, and is preferred to outright disagreement. Agreement is not reached but referred to a third party not present in the meeting. This gives the meeting a chance to re-orient itself to its purpose and repair the cohesion, so that the group can carry on in its production of university business.

As the meeting progresses a second similar interaction occurs.

Business school meeting

Transcript 11

M: International H.R.M↑ (.) Is in↑ (.) yep↑=

S: = Ye:s.=

M: = Yep, straight forward? =

H: = Thats closing down (.) >by the looks of things↑< (.) the one-year course↑=

M: = Which one sorry, the↑=

H: = international

(one second pause)

M: Is it closing↑

H: The one-year course for international human righ' er > resource management< appe:ars to be closing do:wn-appears to have changed to a fifteen-month course onl:y.

B: .)Why would it have sixty-five students↑((spoken quieter than the other contributions))

H: Because it's closing down-because it's running out.

((concurrent to the other conversation))

S: Ha:s it↑

((spoken as an aside to another colleague (both academics)))

((other colleague))

C: W'you aware of that↑

((quiet laughter between them))

((back to the group))

S: So the ↑↑twelve month is closing↓ d:own↑

H: Yes (very quietly) (0.1)The one year->the one-year course< (.) appears to be closing down↓

S: As far as I know (.)the ↑eighteen-month course is closing down↓=

H: = Thats correct as well (0.2) because there is a >fifteen-month< perhaps there is a

( ) (at this point I cannot make out what is said)

M, chairing the meeting carries on through the data this time S is the relevant course leader. When M reads out the course, this invites S to reply. She replies in the affirmative, but H then volunteers a response that this course is closing down. What H says is not what S has just agreed. B orients themselves to S by using a question, as a preferred response, rather than outright dissent, but this is an affiliation technique to others from the same group. A splinter groups also occurs here, with C and S talking together, but in such a way that demonstrates to the rest of the group this is not for them all. Such an interaction and the use of laughter between them, shows that they are breaking from the consensus of the group meeting.

Using EM principles I am aware that tension is rising. But I ask myself how I know this? My answer to this is from my interpretation of the interaction. But how do I know that this is a shared understanding? This is partially because tension cannot be a shared understanding, it is a feeling. But also group interaction orients itself toward group cohesion and this group is not showing cohesion. Group cohesion is apparent here, through the preferred responses, but they are still less preferred than simple agreement. To answer my question about tension, I move onto the next transcript from the same meeting.

Business school meeting

Transcript 12

1 M: I think it's worth saying that it's not unusual to get queries of this nature in these top

meetings, so (.)I think that (0.1)it's, it's good
to have the initial dialogue and then think,
perhaps, s'matter of just clarifying them (.)which,
which we can prolong, put on (.) on the outside…

Here the chair attempts to repair the group cohesion. His statement is an affirmation of the normative nature of such disagreement. It is also an acknowledge of the tension, and the breakdown of cohesion. He is also using his position as chair to place greater authority on his view than those who are dissenting.

As Pomerantz (1996a) states, when a response is invited, as is the case in such a meeting there is always a chance of success or failure. The use of questioning rather than outright disagreement is in itself a membership categorisation method. The aside conversation is also a demonstration of greater allegiance to another group. This is what Fitzgerald and Housley (2015) refer to as 'endogenously produced glosses' (pg. 38). They can be done through other mechanisms but serve to enforce the social order that is established. This is well documented by Wieder (1974), using such devices is a way of reinforcing the established social order. This splinter group is recognized, and a final comment is made to reunite the group and repair the shared sense of purpose.

Splintering is a way of reinforcing the outsiders to the group. Whilst all members of the meeting have come together with a common interest, there are also different roles, as stated earlier in this meeting, administrator, academic and manager, these roles will produce category tied understandings of themselves. This means these roles are also used as interactional devices to show authority of different roles and their orientation to the information for the meeting (Housley 1999).

The questioning and aside conversation are a demonstration of what Heritage (2012) calls epistemic status. Inferred in the role of academic is the interrogation of data. The administrator role comes with the category predicate of an organized processor of the data. The administrator's use of the term 'normal' is a conversational device to reorient the group. The fragility of the shared context can be contested by inferring other membership groups, which may contest the shared context and, as such, undermine it. Describing the practices as normal is a discursive practice to normalise the issue (Foucault 1979).

8.2 - Analysis part two – the documentary method applied to lectures

In 1972 Garfinkel and a colleague David Sudnow (a fellow ethnomethodologist), attended an introductory lecture on chemistry at the University of California. In the lecture they took field notes of a written nature and afterwards recorded their conversations of their reflections on the lecture. They did not record the lecture, they merely reflected on their notes. This approach was used to consider the documentary approach to 'a study of the work of teaching undergraduate chemistry' (Garfinkel 2002, pp 219-244). Subsequently Garfinkel collaborated with another ethnomethodologist, Melinda Baccus to converse on her findings on interviews with lecturers of professional subjects. Baccus had noted candidate phenomena, which she had compared to other contexts of conversation, using the work of Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) as a comparator. Baccus' findings were layered into Garfinkel and Sudnow's initial written up thoughts. This added a layer of commonly noticeable but generally ignored orderliness to the issue of 'doing lecturing's work.' The performance features of 'doings lecturing's work', will be shown as a

performance feature by using the symbols =()=, so it is =(doing lecturing's work)=. Performance features discovered and analysed by Garfinkel were:
=(The lecture hasn't begun)=, =(taking and holding places)=, =(seeing the room start to fill up)=, =(late)=, =(interruption)=, =(paying attention)=,=(he erases the board)=, =('you will remember from the last lecture that')=,=(normally thoughtless* listening)=, =(pace)=,=(seeing the lecturer's preparation)=, =(topical organization)=, =(exhibiting understanding: questions)=, =(an audience in detail)=, =(audience restiveness as the end of the lecture approaches)=, =(audience buzzing: the noisy assemblage)=, =(closing the meeting)= (Garfinkel 2002 pp 219-244)

Garfinkel (2002) asserted that this was a study to fill a knowledge gap of what he called "ignored content specific, massive orderliness of lectures" (pg 219). Garfinkel wanted to understand a lecture from the perspective of participants. He applied the documentary method to call into question the shared understanding, and the resources used by individuals within the group to perform a lecture. Subsequent work in the area has been done by Hester and Francis (2004) and Eglin (2009). These works all seek to improve the understanding of what is a lecture.

The use of the documentary method is to drill into the micro sociology by seeing the features of a document of performing =(a lecture)=. The use of wider literature is used in two ways in this section;

The first use of literature is the use of, other EM, CA and MCA literature used to demonstrate this shared understanding of what is known. The CA application shows the commonly used method of conversation, and how they are applied to this particular situation. This is the micro sociology application. The techniques that are used by lecturers to demonstrate lecturing's work are known, and by applying previous EM and MCA literature this study seeks to illustrate how this knowledge is

applied in the setting of a post 1992 lecture. Hester and Francis (2004) do not specify what type of university they examined, but they do specify that the lecture is one of sociology. Eglin (2009) states that the data he draws upon is from an American university and is a lecture on global studies. The data used in this study is from a range of business lectures from one post 1992 university, in the UK. The methods used in all three pieces of work are quite different, but all bring to the fore what is known as a lecture. Garfinkel (2002) also used information from other lecturers in discussion, to build a picture of what is known as a lecture. The approach taken in this study, builds on these works but also explicates further this concept of what is a university lecture, by providing a different setting, to know 'what more' (Garfinkel 1967) .

The second use of literature is to compare some aspects of members methods to wider literature which is from other formal analytic approaches. This is to consider how members methods compare against other formal analytic approaches. Literature of any kind is a starting point for the episteme. It helps to illustrate the macro side of sociological understanding as it is existing knowledge that is 'out there'. However, again, I note that this section of analysis is to further the inquiry of what members of this particular setting know*. The documentary approach is drawing on members (who may, or indeed are likely not to have read this literature) to illustrate their common sense shared view of a lecture and how to produce it. This section of analysis is to achieve research objectives two and four, but may also uncover elements of three.

This analysis is presented in a similar way to Garfinkel's original study, as a document of =(doing lecturing's work)=. In his initial document of =(doing lecturing's work)= Garfinkel (2002) acknowledged the limitation of this work due to the ethnographic nature of the field work that was used. He stated such work could be

strengthened by the use of audio-visual techniques. He also stated that without this, the documented methods were inadequate. My documented method of =(doing lecturing's work)= has been compiled by looking for commonalities in the detailed and ignored orderliness of three tape recorded lectures with supplementary ethnographic field notes and four video recorded lectures. These were used to create a more detailed document of lecturers =(doing lecturing's work)=. Formal rules and extant literature are compared with the material documented and elements of conversational analysis are considered. There are extracts, which are shown in a different text as the Jefferson system has been used, but again, there are some discursive references, where discourse analysis is applied, and these appear as ordinary quotes in the narrative.

The emphasis in this section is on the documentary method, rather than conversation analysis, although aspects of that are still used, to drill into the documented account of the performance features.

As earlier noted, this study is replicated in the style of Garfinkel's (2002) work in 1972. As EM is not generalisable, it is not done to compare, but to enhance our understanding of recognisable features common to =(doing lecturing's work)=. This study is building on this original study and further studies. Adopting this style of presentation is useful for achieving my fourth research objective.

In Garfinkel's (2002) initial analysis he stated that his research did not meet the requirement of unique adequacy, as the area he chose to study was not an area he knew well. All my observations were in the area I study, lectures on business, or areas I work in, therefore I satisfied the unique adequacy requirement. Garfinkel (2002) also talked about conjectured orderliness, some of the areas he studied were his own thoughts, not his observation, although he briefly entered into discussion

with his colleagues. Whilst Garfinkel may not have been a chemistry lecturer, certainly he was familiar with the aspects of lecturing to mean that he had a level of adequacy. However, his lack of familiarity with the subject meant that he found himself =(normally thoughtlessly listening*)= to the subject of chemistry. In order to use the lecture itself as an activity to make strange through the use of documenting the performance, he would need to have an understanding of the subject material to drill into the methods used in getting across the lecture. As all the lectures I observed were areas I know well enough to teach myself, I was able to drill into the data on the use of language in the lecture, rather than finding myself =(normally thoughtlessly listening*)=.

This research bridges some of the limitations in Garfinkel's initial work. By analyzing both tape and video recordings the analysis moves the conjectured orderliness from reflection on action (Schon 1983) towards an analysis of understanding of the methods used as reflection in action. (Schon 1983) EM is not about reflective practice, but is used to highlight the ignored, ordinary accomplishment of everyday action, however, there is a need to acknowledge my role as a reflective researcher in this. I have also gone back and discussed any issues, which were raised by Garfinkel, but not observed by me, with the colleagues in the lectures, to understand how they account for these performance features through their own personal accounts. As a lecturer, my observations were through a lens of my own understanding, which is my unique adequacy as noted by Garfinkel (1967), but the discussions give more credence to these reflections. By asking my colleagues I have a greater understanding of the scaffolded understanding (Cicourel 2012). My view was socially constructed through my own view of =(doing lecturing's work)=, and then advanced by observing others with ethnomethodological indifference. This does not mean being indifferent to the constraints placed on social order. However, by observing my colleagues and discussing shop floor problems with them,

I was able to use my position of unique adequacy, which is needed in EM to uncover intricacies of their accomplishment of everyday taken-for-granted work. More formal analytic types of sociological analysis may not have this element in order to understand how social order is produced. I am immersed in the sector and therefore unable to separate myself from the constraints that are upon the sector or from my understanding of the organisational rules. Ethnomethodological indifference is not about being indifferent to these rules but stepping back to understand how members use their own methods to produce accounts with acknowledgement of these constraints or shop floor problems. The detail of the analysis is strengthened by the convenience of my understanding of the wider context, giving me unique adequacy (Garfinkel 1967), and the use of recorded data means that the work is enriched by observations of reflection-in-action.

In the documentary method part of the analysis, a comparative approach was taken. The observations were compared to Garfinkel's (2002) initial observations. Sometimes wider literature has also been used to frame the wider picture. Initially the performance features of Garfinkel's (2002) study were used as a starting point, but others, which were apparent in =(doing lecturing's work)= were added. These related to my observations and the specifity of the situation as observed. None of Garfinkel's original performance features were removed, as they all seemed to be present, thus indicating the scaffolded nature of what is a lecture.

As stated earlier, each performance feature is captured by the symbol =(performance feature)=. There may be a number of overlapping performance features, so they may be documented together. The sequence in which they are presented as a title is not an indication of the order of production but is seen as a feature of their synchronous nature, (that they were being performed at the same time). Some of them are then further explored under a title as a separate phenomenon.

These documented performance features are put together as common perceived themes in =(doing lecturing's work)=. Garfinkel (2002) presented his findings as one lecture, even though he used notes from other lectures, but this is not possible in this analysis as although the lectures were of similar themes (business) the rooms and their embodied use in practice differs. Observations in this analysis are written as themes of embodied practice within a chronological and/or overlapping synchronous account. They are presented as a document of these themes, they are not written as 'one lecture'. Added to the these observations are findings that relate to the areas of =(doing lecturing's work)=, which were brought out of the discussions that followed on from the observations.

Where no interpretive or observed explanation can be offered, conjectured consideration is put forward. This could be taken further in another study.

8.2.1 - Performance features of lectures understood as embodied practices of the local order- production

=(the lecture hasn't begun)=, =(taking and holding places)=,
=(seeing the room start to fill up)=, =(audience buzzing: noisy assemblage)=

=(the lecture hasn't begun)=

I note in all the recordings that I have used as data that it is not long from the start of recording until the lecture actually starts. The longest that the students have to wait is about two and a half minutes until the lecturer has begun the lecture. This is observed in the recordings; however, these may not be started until the lecture is about to begin, panopto recordings are generally started by the lecturer and my

personal taped recordings would have been done upon my arrival. This brings to my mind a question as to how long does =(the lecture hasn't begun)= take place. There are times I see students in lecture rooms, but they may be performing a feature of =(wasting time)= not a feature of =(waiting for the lecture to begin)=. I also note that sometimes =(the lecture hasn't begun)= is occupied by another feature, that of =(as part of the wider university)= which will be discussed shortly. These thoughts make it occur to me to consider the shop floor problem: what is the longest students would be prepared to wait, and if there is a time when it is too early to start?

This got me thinking about arrival. =(arrival)=, I reflect that I arrive to observe the lecture a few minutes before the class is scheduled to begin. But I note on my arrival that there are generally people who have been there for longer. When would this be an observable feature of =(wasting time)= and when would it be an observable feature of =(waiting for the lecture to begin)=?

I was not able to trouble the notion of =(wasting time)=, a predicate that is bound to the category of student in wider society, but I was able to ask lecturers to consider what would be a suitable amount of time before =(begins)=. This was a question that I asked the lecturers in a short follow up interview. A couple of them could not be sure on what time they thought was the most appropriate to start, but most said about five minutes and one said ten minutes. One response was interestingly intuitive and said that it depended on the group. Some groups were always on time, some groups were always late, which would infer that each group has a shared response to the issue of timing. The group works out over the weeks its shared response and this becomes the norm. This is then reflected back by the lecturer, who fits with the norm of the class.

Observations took place in both large lecture theatres and also smaller classroom style rooms. Similar to Garfinkel's (2002) analysis I am aware that there is a short period at the beginning when the lecture has not begun.

I note that observations in the smaller classrooms involve more interaction with the students upon entering. The lecturer's interaction, in such situations, is that they are engaging with a student. Their tone, prosody, gesture and general manner changes to suit the situation. In my observation of one lecture, I note the lecturer walk in and say hello to a particular student. It is not a casual 'friendly' hello, it is much more 'official' hello. The lecturer is engaging in face-work (Goffman 1967), and they are aware of the social attributes to their role as lecturer and so is the student, as the students are also engaging in face-work with the lecturer. This interaction demonstrates the category bound predicate of how a lecturer is to behave to a student and how a student is to behave to a lecturer. This gives an indication of the detail that is considered by members when orienting themselves to the group activity of =(being in a lecture)=. The lecturer has entered the room and adopted a face of a lecturer, thus indicating an understanding of their social role and therefore has set about to manage impressions upon entering. Prior to the arrival of the lecturer in the lecture hall, I walked towards the lecture hall with the lecturer. We both entered together. Her demeanor and interactions with me were different in tone and nature to the interactions she then engaged in, with a student upon entering the room. Upon entry into the room, the lecturer adopts the manner that is needed for their face of lecturer. This reminds me of a specific nature of interaction and causes me to consider what specifically would be a recognisable feature of student/lecturer interaction. I have said the greeting was 'official', but that in itself could be relevant to many settings. This brings to mind that this 'official' greeting is recognisable because of the setting, in a lecture room. The simplicity of the 'hello' also makes the viewer aware that this is not the first interaction between these two individuals. Part

of the feature of recognisability is the ongoing nature of the situation. This also highlights that specifity of greetings. The lecturer will not universally greet this particular student the same way every time. Each greeting is relevant to the ongoing nature of social order.

I note in this particular situation the lecturer engages in interaction with this particular student but that other students are present and do not engage in interaction with the lecturer at this time. Goffman (1967) asserts that individuals tends to engage in face work that is both sustainable and in accord with their own sense of self. But EM inquiry illustrates that this sense of self has a fluid aspect to how it is applied, it is not applied universally to all students in this lecture. Drawing on my reflection I know this to be true. Eglin (2009) states that what a university is known for is already known, despite all the literature and theoretical arguments put forward. This use of face work (Goffman 1967) is particularised further within this group scenario, it is used with this particular student in this particular instant. This causes me to question the universality of engagement.

Garfinkel (1967) would argue this individual engagement upon entering the room is a recognition of the shared understanding of the place. This individual interaction is also a shared understanding. Both parties, the lecturer and the student, understand their role in these initial interactions before the lecture starts and both parties know this will not be universally applied or even consistently used every week. This is one of a range of techniques that could be applied and its usage is universally inconsistent.

My follow up discussions with the lecturers that I observed lead to one highlighting the importance of these informal interactions as they are a filler before the actual start of the lecture. Equally, I have observed occasions where they are not applied at

all. This leads me to ask why and I conclude that there are other influences on the scenario, such as the time of entering or the size of the room, or how far into the semester the lesson takes place are all factors that could influence initial interactions with students.

Observations in larger lecture theatres make student engagement as an aspect of face work more problematic. Here, I note, the lecturer is more likely to walk across the theatre and sweep a look around the room to acknowledge the presence of the students, but there is nothing more than a head nod and a look. Again, in follow up questions, one of the lecturers felt this aspect and the preparing at the front was seen as an important part of creating the right atmosphere. Eglin (2009) in his paper on 'What do we do Wednesday?' asks; what is the indicator to a student that a lecture has started? What is the observable feature? Hester and Francis (2004) state that the a priori knowledge of the feature that makes the start of the lecture observable is the placing of the lecturer and the placing of the students. They state that the opening line is not so much a greeting, (here the greeting is good afternoon) but an announcement of the start. The facticity of what makes this a university lecture is this a priori knowledge (Garfinkel 1967).

These different approaches could be seen as what Schatzki (2005) refers to as site ontology, the lecturer shows an awareness of the situated nature of the embodied practice and the environment in which they operate, thus larger lecture theatres require different interaction devices than smaller lecture theatres. Upon entering the room, this is the start of =(doing lecturing's work)=. Schatzki relates this to actual space, although questions this as a term. His point is that the social context leads the participant to draw on resources that lead to the resulting behaviour, but the individuals my or may not have a shared version of what that is in their head. Garfinkel (cited in Rawls 2008) disputes the issue of the shared ontology and states

this is an epistemological issue. It is less about the shared space and more the sense making of the interaction around, with a hypereflexive approach to constantly draw on data to manage the next interaction. Schatzki (2005) showed an awareness of the dichotomy of the individual and the social, but Rawls (2008) states that Garfinkel wanted to put the emphasis on the individuals and the use of interaction, which is what makes the situation intelligible. My observations and follow up interviews highlight that the space has some impact, but more because of distance than context, it is both parties, students and lecturers who carry out the 'face' interactions.

=(taking and holding places)=

People are gathering here to hear a lecture; prior knowledge of this event exists. As an observer I know this, as I arrive. There is no need to indicate this, a prior system of indication has occurred (the electronic timetable). Garfinkel (2002) refers to this in his initial work on the subject. The timetabled event has invited students to gather and =(take and hold places)=, by this we mean, they have come into the room and stayed in the room. Eglin (2009) also highlights this. The lecture itself is a phenomenon that exists within other phenomena, such a timetables, induction and other university activities. I was not here to witness how this occurred in any lecture. I never managed to arrive before the initial arrival of students. People were distributed in such a way that most of the room was occupied, those in the room did not all sit next to each other leaving the rest free, they placed themselves in such a way as to fill the room with even distribution. This is not a structured thing, by which I mean it does not have an observable structure, but it is an ordered thing. There are areas that are fuller than others. I wonder how this sharing of space is done. I presume through methodical and observable practices, but this is not something I have observed. This is a further study that could be carried out.

This timetabled invitation has created a sociological phenomenon, in that there is an expectation that a lecturer will attend, and that information will be imparted.
This is not a phenomenon that I studied in my observations. I tended to observe the lecturer and not concentrate on the issue of the student, but this is wrong, as this is a social situation. What is important to note is how both parties interact, as this is what constitutes accomplishment of the situation. =(Doing lecturing's work)= requires both the lecturer and the students to work together to create the social order of what is =(doing lecturing's work)= .

A priori knowledge through my own observations tells me that students become quite fixed on where they sit and will =(take and hold places)= based on what they have done previously. I have asked students to get into groups before, and when the exercise is finished they will return to where they were seated prior to the request.

=(seeing the room start to fill up)=

In each lecture I observed, I have noted that the room is only ever partially filled. A priori knowledge tells me that lecturers prefer not to teach in an entirely filled room as this can seem very crowded. Any classroom that is full to capacity (a number stated in the university timetabling system) will likely be requested to move to a bigger room. With the large lecture theatre, more than one lecture is scheduled, so that students have a choice which one to attend. I recently requested the move of a group to a larger room, for the rest of the term, because every space was filled.

=(audience buzzing: noisy assemblage)=

In all lectures I observed there was evidence of =(noisy assemblage)=, the students never just sat in total quiet. One particular lecture where there was an announcement before the lecture, named as the performance feature =(as part of the wider university)= and explained further, a noticeable phenomenon occurred, in the production of a message from the students. No effort was made to quieten by the audience for the students who wished to make an announcement. As highlighted in the previous section of analysis, the category of student is not recognized to be the one who addresses the room. Just walking to the front of the room is only one factor within many to the viewers maxim, for the group to respond by stopping and listening. Some of the students present in the auditorium and the audience of students started to make 'Shh' noises in acknowledgement of the student standing at the front of the room. The volume of noisy assemblage lowers as the lecturer enters the room, rather than from the student standing at the front, but there is still a gentle rumble of =(noisy assemblage)= when the lecturer starts.

The signal of nearing the start is putting on the microphone. Here we have evidence of what Arundale (2010) calls conjoint co-constituting and interactional achievement. There is a recognition to quieten for the lecturer and that participation is required in this act, from the students. Standing at the front of the lecture theatre and starting an introduction can be seen as a performative utterance (Austin 1962), but the category of lecturer is bound with the understanding of having the authority to take the floor and be listened to. Neither of the acts of standing at the front or giving a performative utterance alone give the category of lecturer the permission to hold the floor in totality. This, with other features, make the category bound nature of this interaction what it is.

Students quieten noticeably quicker if a lecturer signals to speak than if another student takes to the floor. There is no formal uniform or dress code for a lecturer or a

student, so I assume that the situated nature of the lecture and arguably the age of the individual who is the lecturer also situate the interaction as recognizably okay. Age is category inferred. This points to prior knowledge and that the student know from previous weeks that this is the lecturer, thus demonstrating again the ongoing nature of accomplishment.

=(begin)=

'Hi everyone, you look quite squashed together.' This particular lecturer started with a typical opening sequence, this could be classed as a greeting followed by an acknowledgement. This is consistent with opening observations in similar research (Hester and Francis 2004, Eglin 2009). Whilst this is recognisable as a greeting and an observation, there is no return response from the students. It is an attention device.

Cazden (2001) states that 'in the bluntest terms, teachers have the right to speak at any time and to any person; they fill any silence or interrupt any speaker,' (pg. 54). Whilst Cazden is talking about teachers, is this really any different to lecturers? Hester and Francis (2004) noted differences in how lecturers get the attention of their students. Teachers will use further monitoring devices with school children. Lecturers are unlikely to pick up on individual behaviours to show they are monitoring their students.

Sacks also acknowledged the phenomenon of greeting not being reciprocated (Sidnell 2010). Custom is to reply to a greeting, and not responding is part of an indication of how that interaction will progress. In =(doing conversation)= as a performance feature the accomplishment of that conversation is reliant on the acceptance of it by both parties. However, here, although we can see that

conversation approaches are used, situated constraints mean that these greetings are seen as an attention device to signal the start of the lecture.

Another beginning used, is ‘right, here we are!’. This is a greeting followed by an acknowledgement of the situation. Both an A and the B sequence are used in the opening sequences (Schegloff 1968 cited in Sidnell 2010) initiated by the lecturer in the openings of lectures. Whilst the conventions of conversation are followed for politeness, such devices are more of an indication for a story preface. Conversation analysis notes that storytelling takes more than one turn (Sidnell 2010), and a lecture could be seen as a long storytelling sequence. Again, this is rhetorical, the lecturer is not given any formal permission to go on, and this is accepted as part of the formal analytic framework of lecturing. Goffman (1959) describes region behaviour as determining what is expected in a setting. The region suggests formal imparting of knowledge but each time a more conversational style is taken. Dramaturgy (Goffman 1959) suggests that the settings set the expectation, but Garfinkel (1967) would argue participants draw on the setting to use their a priori knowledge to make intelligible their practice. I have stated that no formal permission is given, but the quiet can be seen as recognition of the lecturer’s role, thus permission has been given. This fits with Goffmans (1981) observation of lecturing involving ‘fresh talk’ and also with Hester and Francis’ (2004) observations of what is a lecture.

Another lecturer brings into sight another performance feature, in their greeting. This lecturer says: ‘Hello guys. Can you hear me loud and clear...?’

This looks similar to the previous greetings, but here a response is required, as this is part of:

=(technological problems)=

In a number of observed lectures part of the accomplishment of the lecture is within the recognition of understanding that technological problems are a common feature. In this particular case, the lecturer requires clarification that the microphone is working. However, this can also be seen as a quick and simple way of checking that the room is listening.

By using the situated understanding of =(technological problems)= the lecturer also signals that they are ready to start.

Another lecturer starts with:

Transcript 13

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1    Z:   Ok:ay (.) well I have to wire myself in↓(.)
          Er(.) it was good to have [hi:m] around
          because I didn't realise↑ that we have such
          great ne:w technology (.) to be used (.)and
5         now I can use it and move abou:t.
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Threaded into the lecture is an acknowledgement that the expertise area is not technology, it is business. In another observed lecture, one lecturer starts by acknowledging another performance feature as helpful, this being the interruption from another lecturer to address the students, as it allowed time to resolve a technical issue of having the wrong slides. Using dramaturgy, Goffman (1959) highlights regional behaviour. If this is considered as a regional behaviour, these behaviours would be considered marring to the performance, but in a surveillance society (Matthiesen 2013), we can see here that the tension of problems is included

in the performance. But this literature points to be a formal analytic framework, not a members perspective. The issue of testing the technology is in situ, it is therefore threaded into the lecture as a shop floor problem (Garfinkel 1967). Goffman (1959) troubles the issue of front and back region areas, implying that such back-region performances spoil the appearance of what is expected, but EM views them as social inquiry in themselves.

I wondered what would be seen as problematic with =(technological problems)=, so I asked the lecturers I observed in my follow up questions. I am interested in how long this performance feature can last to be seen as acceptable and not incompetent. A couple of them complained that technological issues were something that stopped them from being more adventurous with what they did. But all said that if the technology did not work, they had a backup option. Some used the technological issues to demonstrate points that they were lecturing about, like motivation or resourcing issues. The technological problems could be used to enable the lesson rather than impede it. The question I asked them was how long it would have to take to resolve before the students became restless, but they all said that they did not let it get to that point. They would change the lesson design or find a way to work around it before that happened. This left me with the question of how they knew not to leave it. They all seemed to feel that any longer than the time they would normally allow before the lesson began, would have the =(noisy assemblage)= effect.

=(late)=

Garfinkel (2002) asks the question what counts as late, and at any point is it too late to enter the lecture? My observations show that students often arrive later than the start of the lecture, and also some =(leave early)=. Garfinkel (2002) states that this

issue is subject specific but does not elucidate why this is so. I ask questions of my colleagues as to what they consider late and how they deal with it.

I have observed many students enter after the start of observed lectures, and usually the lecturer ignores this. Sometimes they do not. On one occasion a late arrival is ushered in with enthusiasm, but usually this phenomenon is noticed but barely an acknowledged feature. In line with Hester and Francis' (2004) observation, lecturing differs from teaching as the monitoring of behaviour is not usually an accounted for practice.

Garfinkel (2002) observed that lecturers should show their attention to student matters of their accounts of their role, but Hester and Francis' (2004) observe how this is not such an obvious account in a lecturing setting as it is in a teaching setting. I asked the lecturers I observed in follow up interviews to comment on how they dealt with late students. The answers showed that this was also a shared experience between student and lecturer and how performance ensued was dependent on various factors. Lecturers tended to deal with the issue of lateness when they felt that it affected the whole student experience. Some took a more disciplinarian approach than others, but the majority felt that it was acceptable for some lateness unless it was seen as very disruptive to others.

The example given of this (thrice) was that lateness would not be ignored for people who came in late, walk across the front between the audience and the lecturer or come straight up and ask questions. This was seen as 'having an attitude', as this affected the other students and it needed to be dealt with. One of the observed lecturers said that he did not allow students in who were over ten minutes late unless they had a good reason. He said, his line was to say no, and that they would tell him if there was a good reason.

=(leave early)=

I have observed this twice. Once, the lecturer asked, and the student said they were in the wrong lecture. Another time the lecturer acknowledged their departure with a cheery 'bye'. This acknowledged to the student an awareness of them leaving. Thus, indicating this is an 'odd' behaviour.

The question of leaving early is not one I put to the lecturers I interviewed, but when I asked about lateness, it did occur in their responses. Two of them said that they did not feel it was their job to monitor and that they can get up and leave 'and I won't be offended'. One said it is not in their role to punish. However, this also troubles the notion of how many can get up and leave before this would be seen as an incongruity.

=(as part of the wider university)=

A common feature that occurred in the lectures observed was that some time might be spent prior to the lecture on a different subject, to ensure that students know about issues. Many things are happening in universities, which need to be communicated to all and that the lecture theatre is seen as a good avenue for this. On two occasions (this was one) someone else occupied the space prior to the lecture with an announcement. I have called them =(as part of the wider university)= because they are included in the lecture but point to events outside of the lecture. Eglin (2009) alludes to the wider issues, that universities are not just lectures, but also places where other things happen such as events of expertise which may not be considered to be specific to this lecture but are possibly category bound to the group

that I can call here, ‘students in this module’. In the accomplishment of the lecture a performance feature is recognition of the wider university accomplishment.

In one lecture, a student announced an event, in another; a lecturer used the space to announce a survey that needed to be filled in by the students. In the first example some students from a society announce the presence of a guest speaker coming to discuss his experience of working in banking.

The student starts with:

‘Well, the lecturer is here anyway…If I can have your attention for a few seconds…’

As highlighted earlier, this student is not in a category bound with the predicate of having the right to speak at all times. His speech is tentative, he demonstrates an awareness that he does not have the right to stand at the front and speak to the group. Equally, the noisy assemblage does not quieten to give him recognition of his announcement. He seeks the approval of the lecturer through gaze, the lecturer nods. Once the lecturer nods, this is approval to the present assemblage to recognise the announcement as legitimate. The announcement is ‘sold’ to the students, with an extra bribe of pizza. In the hearer’s maxim (Sacks 1974, cited in Fitzgerald and Housley 2015) what is seen here is that if two or more categories are used together then they are bound rather than inferred. Extra events mean goodies, such as pizza. There is an expectation of extra events in the university, not just attending lessons for the course, however getting engagement and attendance is difficult, so gifts are used to make students feel their attendance is worthwhile.

Transcript 14

S: So, this is going to be a really good opportunity↑ for you guys to network and, obviously (.)have a (0.1)slice of pizza with us afterwards.
[students whoop]=
S: =So (.)I look forward to seeing you the:re.

The students present their pitch with enthusiasm and 'sell' the event as something they are also looking forward to. They use positive language to convey this to the crowd. However, the event in itself is not enough so free pizzas are also offered, the free event may not draw the crowd. This brings me to ask the question to what extent are these events recognisable as what makes a university? This is not a question that this research addresses but indicates an area for further inquiry.

In the second instance of =(as part of the wider university)=, a lecturer uses another lecturer's time to promote a survey. He presents himself more confidently than the students did. Is this because he knows he can stand at the front and address the crowd? It is expected of him there is no need to be tentative. Or is it because he is known to the students. The room quietens much quicker than it did for the student. The accomplishment of an announcement from another lecturer is more readily accepted by the participant crowd. On this occasion the pitch is for the student to fill in something. It is important for the students to see the purpose, hence the need to announce it in a lecture; this implies that other methods of communication are less reliable. The survey will be e-mailed to them. However, in recognition of the nature of the issue, an organized, timetabled gathering is also promoted to them. There will be free goodies, to encourage the students to attend and to fill in the survey.

What is interesting is that the first event example (presented by the student) is put on for the students, by the students, so why is there a need for a bribe? We should ask to what extent do the students expect such an event?

The second event, the students are being asked to do something, which is needed for the university, so the purpose of the bribe would make more sense, but not just any bribe. One of the students asks if they will get doughnuts. The lecturer says:

Transcript 15

L: I don't know↓ about the doughnuts (.) because to be honest we didn't think doughnuts were profe:ssional and postgraduate (0.1) Some people say postgraduates are:n't li'e that (.) they don't want doughnuts.

The student responds with 'yeah we do, we want chocolates, we want doughnuts.'

By making this explicit, the issue is no longer inferred, however the lecturer still ignores it. This is an open disagreement with the position put forward by the lecturer. Open disagreements are not the preferred option in turn taking (Pomerantz 1996), and this response could be seen as a heckle, an open breach of expectation. The dissent is ignored; the lecturer carries on, by answering another question. The student who asks another question could be seen as repairing the breach to maintain the group. Clayman (1993) makes the point that large groups or audiences self-monitor. Individual decisions can be made, but usually these are done with a view to keeping with the group. This heckle was not further heckled by the group, the non-

recognition of the heckle, by the rest of the students through silence, could be agreement, but could also be a repair mechanism to enable the group to carry on. As already highlighted by two lecturer's comments in follow up conversations, group members will join together to tell the lecturer if the agreement or disagreement is strong, otherwise the group context is put first. Nandi (1980) refers to heckles as public dissention. They are an act of disaffiliation (McIlvenny 1996), but in order to gather momentum, they need the group to join the disaffiliation. In the lectures observed I have highlighted a number of attempts at repair, through non-recognition of the issue. This is done by both the students and the lecturer, to reorient the group to the purpose of the performance feature. As one lecturer remarks, the students will 'let you know' if they are not happy. Such a repair could be seen as recognition of the issue, but not wishing to take it further, restoring the status quo, or a gloss over of the issue. Social order is resumed.

=(inviting feedback)=

An important performance feature in lectures is the issue of checking in and getting feedback from the students. Lecturers tend to ask, somewhere near the beginning of the lecture for some general feedback from previous weeks. I think of this partly as a form of checking for engagement and also an acknowledgement of the ongoing nature of =(doing lecturing's work)=.

In one lecture, immediately after checking the technology is working, the lecturer starts with:

Transcript 16

1 L: Good(.) Any question before we start↑ (0.2)
2 s:oo any questions before we start↑ Anything
3 you would li:ke to ask me↑

There is a two second pause, and then he asks again:

Transcript 17

1 L: Everything oka:y↑ Everyone su:per happy↑ and
2 excited yeah↑ (.) Who has a question(.) loud
3 please↑

The dilemma for this lecturer is that the room is in a big lecture theatre. The room/space is designed for information to travel from the front to the back. It is not designed for interaction. Yet, a performance feature of a lecture regardless of size is that there is some level of interaction. Twice the lecturer requests 'loud please'. In order to carry out the interaction, the students must shout, this is not their natural inclination. Although shouting can be done to get attention, it is generally seen as either overly authoritative or aggressive (Hester and Hester 2010) when used in everyday conversation. It can quiet a public meeting, but then the tone should revert to normal speech.

Another observable feature of this address to the students is the use of time as a device for the lecturer to claim that time as his time. Using the phrase 'before we start' indicates there is an amount of time that is dedicated to the lecture. The claiming of time is also featured further on in these observations. Claiming time is a

device used by the lecturer to indicate authority (Hustler and Payne 1980, cited in Hester and Francis 2004). I shall return to time as a device later in this analysis.

This gesture for inviting feedback seems to be general, but leads to the performance feature of =(assessment questions)=

=(assessment questions)=, =(technological problems)=

The assessment is an online assessment, and what follows is a series of questions from different students, all related to the issue of entry into the assessment. My a priori knowledge of the module gives the context that the students are approaching their assessment. Although the inviting of feedback is general, this is a time when they are very focused on the issue of the assessment. Access into the assessment is complex, but instructions have been given. They are available to all students on the online learning platform called Blackboard.

The lecturer responds with:

Transcript 18

L: Tha:t is what I said (.) in the >announcement< that I've sent (.) I've sent an annou:ncement (.) and I said very clearly (.) >with all due respect< (.) I'm sure you had an excellent reason (.) er (.) about (.) Please read the announcements ca:refully (.) In the

announcements that I've sent (.)I say (.) Do not use yo:ur team username and team password (.) to register (.) the team members in the team (.) After you (.) after you access the game (.) you go to (.) Add (0.2) (gestures as if on computer) Manage my team (.) Add team member (.) a:nd then you create your own username and your own password<

Here, it is hearable that the lecturer doesn't believe the students have followed the instructions. His repetition of what he has previously said indicates that he does not believe that they have read what they need to do, he explicitly states his instructions are clear. Whilst in his opening line to the students he demonstrate a wish for feedback, when he gets feedback he dismisses the claims and instructs them to read the instructions again. Such a response is disaffiliative to the group, a breach of the expectations. He later relents as the student argues back 'I think that is what we did'. The lecturer's initial account is dismissive of the student's assessment queries as having already been answered. Such a response is against the usual protocol of turn taking (Pomerantz 1996), where unless expressed in such a way as to indicate a negative response, a positive one is preferred. The lecturer is employing responses, which are not group oriented, which could in turn be seen to violate the interaction. In ongoing interaction, the lecturer relents and repairs the group orientation, he does this by suggesting that the student send him a 'print screen'.

This issue ends with a plea from the lecturer:

Transcript 19

L: Good (.) G:uys (0.1) for (0.2) with all due respect (.) for the love of any god you believe in (.) if you do:n't, please (.) read carefully the pre-readings (.) >Please, please< (.) see the training videos (.) and (.) if you ca:n (.) please attend the training lecture tomorrow (0.1) It's (.) two to four o'clock (.) here.

Further assistance is offered, they are invited to a training lecture, and if they cannot attend then it will be recorded and put on the learning platform for them. For this extra curriculum activity there is no pizza or free goods to entice them, but the issue is one of assessment, so students view this as important.

Looking at the three last performance features noted, =(inviting feedback)=, =(assessment questions)= and =(technological problems)=, there is an observable inference that =(assessment questions)= and =(technological problems)= could be accounted for as unwelcome. The patterns of interactions used are designed to demonstrate this.

The other performance feature of =(inviting feedback)= is after the survey in =(as part of the wider university)=. Here I read the =(inviting feedback)= to be pinpointed to the issue of the survey, as this is what the lecturer has come into the lecture to talk about.

But a student starts with 'I've got a question,'

The lecturer answers 'yep'.

The student goes on to ask a question about a submission that is forthcoming. Whilst I could anticipate that the first performance feature of =(inviting feedback)= was likely to lead to questions about the imminent assessment (as this is what the lecture was about), the second example was not expected. Here the lecturer had visited another lecture, as course leader, with a specific task. Considering my a priori knowledge, I note that I anticipated the first =(assessment question)=, but this one was a surprise to me. This made me think about what really matters to the students. I reflected on the fact that my knowledge of teaching, is that students will ask questions about assessment more than any other topic.

In Garfinkel's (2002) original work he explored the performance feature of =(interruption)=, but I would split this into two performance features. These would be =(welcome interruption)= and =(unwelcome interruption)=.

Garfinkel (2002) viewed =(interruption)= from the perspective of an =(unwelcome interruption)=. He ruminated on the issue of the lecture only really taking place if there were parties who were interested. In order for a lecture to =(begin)= it was necessary for this to be the case. Parties would need to be present and would need to be =(interested)=, therefore if parties were not showing the performance feature of =(interested)=, the lecture would be spoiled and accomplishment of =(the lecture takes place)=, would not be apparent. Garfinkel (2002) gives the example of the lecturer stopping two students who are talking during his lecture.

In my follow up questions there was consensus amongst all who were questioned that they do not stop students leaving the lecture if they want to. As stated earlier, they don't get offended, as one put it. However, if students just talk this is more of an issue as it disrupts the lecture for everybody. Three of those I followed up with

questions, tended to look at it from the perspective of the group. One stated, ‘I don’t mind them being disrespectful to me, but they mustn’t disrespect the group’.

In one example, in a large lecture theatre, in an hour-long lecture, students get restless and make noise, and the lecturer points out that

‘We’re not done yet by the way…’
‘We still have ten minutes, *ten* minutes…’

But the =(audience buzzing: noisy assemblage)= carries on, once again the lecturer reminds them
‘I need your attention for ten minutes and then we can go, I promise you.’

The lecturer uses time to claim it as his time. (Hustler and Payne 1980, cited in Hester and Francis 2004) The lecturers emphasis on time as an authority tool does not end the restiveness so he brings the subject back round to assessment to quieten the room.

Most =(unwelcome interruptions)= are a student arriving late or leaving early. These are often done with an exaggerated nod, or mouthed sorry from the student, but when =(unwelcome interruptions)= occur which are not acknowledged by the interuptee this tends to lead to a violation response. Highlighting discrepancies is done to reorient the group to the accomplished task. In this case this is =(paying attention)=.

In another more hybrid lecture/ seminar, the students have been asked to consider an exercise, and when asked to feedback their findings from the exercise they do not quieten quickly. The lecturer raises her voice above the =(noisy assemblage)=

Transcript 20

```
1    L:   Stop talking about your own proposals or
2         whatever, what you've done on the weekend (.)
3         OKAY, the purpose of a literature review↓
```

'Proposals' is a reference to the assessment. This statement accounts for the fact that part of the accomplishment of a university is that assessment is something that is not done in the classroom. Again, this is not universal, but this is stated here, so it must be so. The category of assessment is bound to the issue of individual work, outside the classroom.

The lecturer raises her voice to get attention from the other speakers. Her intonation goes down at the end to emphasise her authority. This will work in an institutional setting like this, as the lecturer has authority to have their talk prioritised over the talk of others. Again, the issue of instructed actions is brought into play. The students have been asked to discuss amongst themselves what is the purpose of the literature review. Goffman (1959) describes accountable actions as taking place in the front region, whereas other actions which may contradict the impression to be given, can usually be placed in the back region. However, in modern institutions, the rise of control through panoptisicism (Foucault 1977) leads to the reduction of back regions. This means that the student is under the continuous gaze, but so is the lecturer. The lecturer is at the front acting out the performance feature of =(waiting)=, whilst this has been happening the students have been =(discussing in groups)=.

The lecturer uses her knowledge of what could be called back region behaviours by acknowledging that other conversations than those instructed have taken place. Goffman (1959) highlights the difficulty of sustaining long-term presentation of concentration, but this is part of the shared public ideal. No student picks up on this comment, allowing reparation to take place (Sidnell 2010) and the lecture to carry on.

This is not new; Garfinkel's (2002) analysis of a lecture back in 1972 also took place in one room. However, his analysis seems to recognise a clear distinction between lectures and other tutorial methods, such as seminars and workshops. This is not apparent in my analysis, even in the large lecture theatre there is call for interaction (as mentioned earlier), and the lecture being observed here, has rolled all these techniques into one two-hour session. It is not so much the use of one room that has changed the back-region dilemmas but the use of time.

=(welcome interruption)=

As Cazden (2001) puts it, the teachers, or in this case, lecturers have complete control over who speaks in the classroom, but as the above examples shows, this is not always the case in the lecture. Here we have examples of when lecturers have really had to plead or use sarcasm to get back the room to one of =(listening)=. However, interruptions can be welcome when they are used to signal engagement.

Transcript 21

1 S: What else↑(.) Yo-you say you've gotta b' quite specific (.) but to what end↑ (.) The nature of aitch.are.em is quite a new social science (.)

and (.) erm (.) is constantly changing (0.1) and therefore (.)um (.) there is ve-very little longitudinal:l research in it (.) because it's just too expensive and (.) you can't, y' know (.) >as someone pointed out just last week< y'know (.) you'll get half way through in a managerial term [unclear] you can't (.) y'know (.) we change managers (.) we can't do it (.) so=

L: =Yeah.=

S: =by nature (.) the vast majority (.) i::s of one (.) kind (.) which is very snap-shotty (.) very case-studyish (.) so (.) bu' we still have to be very specific (.) cause it sEMs like the vast majority that we're gonna read (.) is,is of that nature↓

(this whole bit of speech is very fast)

Here a student interjects to the speech of the lecturer. What can be observed is that the whole of the student's speech is very staccato. Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) assert that turn taking is used for any organised situation, but when we enter a lecture, we do so knowing that the lecturer's turn will be prioritised in the lecture. Whilst finding prior evidence of this is difficult academically, Cazden (2001) asserts this to be the case in primary school classrooms, and indeed understanding accomplishment of everyday lives can point to various teaching and learning situations where this

phenomenon occurs. This student has interrupted the lecturer, this is a way to show they are listening and engaged, but this is not =(normally thoughtless listening)=, so the interaction is quickened to acknowledge it as an interruption. The lecturer's use of 'Yeah', in the middle is a response token to demonstrate their acknowledgement of the question and thus to show to the others this is a valid interaction. Both parties involved in this interaction also show their affiliation to the larger group by how they use their interactions. The student's interruption is quickened to acknowledge to all, that they are aware of their interruption, but the tone and pace also demonstrates that it is considered necessary. The acknowledgement from the lecturer also demonstrates to the group that this is the case so the rest allow the interaction to occur.

A similar interruption in another lecture could be seen as an =(unwelcome interruption)=.

In a strategy lecture, in which the assignment is being discussed, this topic lead to another example of =(assessment questions)=, a student interacts with the lecturer about financial analysis.

Transcript 22

```
1    L:   Ge:aring is the amount of debt you have (.) A
          high level of debt will usually mean you
          measure the debt in a ratio (.) measure debt
          towards=
       [inaudible interruption]
5    L|:=Sorry↑ =
     S: =Current ratio↑ =
```

L1. = Current ratio (.) >yes all those ratios< (.)

you know them better than me (.) perhaps.

The student's interaction is answered but the conversation is not opened up any further. All interactive tools used are designed to close the conversation down. Later in the lecture, the lecturer states, 'I will keep going on finance, it's not my strong point,' and refers the students to a chapter in a book that will help them. The lecturer is less willing to engage with the student about something in which they have less expertise, this is stated, therefore hearably so. Sidnell (2010) refers to turn taking being locally managed and gives the example that this is partially managed by teachers in classrooms. Here, the teacher has chosen to not allow this interaction to be pursued any further. By not pausing after 'yes' in line seven the lecturer does not give an opening for further interaction by the student. In public speaking situations such as a lecture, the lecturer generally holds the floor, so it is easy for them to close down the conversation. Atkinson (1996) makes the point that without this knowledge shared by the members, public meetings would be chaos.

I note that both =(unwelcome interruptions)= occur around the issue of assessment. It could be deduced therefore that lecturers don't like students to talk about the assessment. Their preference is to initiate the issue of assessment themselves. More data needs to be gathered to ascertain if this is the case or not. When unwelcome interruptions occur I note that the lecturer seems to resort to more traditional, non-interactive styles for =(doing lecturing's work)=.

Usually =(unwelcome interruption)= is more about getting the attention of audience members who are not accepting the interaction order or the role of =(normally

thoughtless* listening)=. This is what Garfinkel (2002) refers to as the act of being filled with knowledge. He observes that he is not there to listen to the lecture but to observe for research purposes. However, he finds the lecture quite interesting. In a lecture in the business school students are there to listen, but this is an act that is not always successful. =(Unwelcome interruptions)= are usually a signal that the participant members, the students, in the lecture theatre are not fulfilling their role of =(normally thoughtless* listening)= in the interaction. This is =(noisy assemblage)=. They are talking to each other, they are not engaged in =(normally thoughtless* listening)=. At an event held in my own university, Wallace (2017) came to present work from her book '*Motivating Unwilling Learners in Further Education: The Key to Improving Behaviour'*. Discussion was around subtle ways to get the attention of students back. The recognition for such an event implies that the categories of student and lecturer are not as bound as perhaps would be liked. As a discourse this is interesting, the implication of the book is that the responsibility is on the lecturer to engage the student. Much of the discourse put forward is so. Garfinkel (1967) would argue that accomplishment of social action, such as =(doing lecturing's work)= is an accomplishment achieved by both parties. When most members are =(normally thoughtless* listening)=, to be not doing so is a violation of the act (Sacks, in Sidnell 2010). The lecturer has a role to play in the act of =(doing lecturings work)= but so do the students.

Garfinkel (1963) calls such breaches of expectation, issues of trust*. Social order requires mutual attention and cooperation, this is not due to some hard-wired human need, this attention is a social one, to create mutually understood scenarios (Rawls 2011). Such examples as have been given so far, when this breaks down illustrates the fragile nature of trust*.

=(paying attention)=

Garfinkel (2002) argues that when disturbances*[13] arise between lecturer and student the students are showing that the lecturer is =(paying attention)= to the issues within the classroom. He argues that the lecturer cannot check on everyone but must demonstrate that he/she is paying attention to such noticeable issues.
I ruminate further than this; in order for accomplishment to happen, there needs to be trust* (Garfinkel 1967). Such demonstrations of =(paying attention)= breach the trust* but enable the repair of social order. Student =(complaints)=, such as calling out to get the attention of the lecturer are also a device of =(paying attention)= and the lecturer is invited by students to respond to these =(complaints)=.
=(erases the board)=

Garfinkel (2002) uses this performance feature to question who has the right to erase the board. White boards are common in lecture theatres, and indeed it is the lecturer who has the authority to write on them and erase information from them. Most information is online and presented at the front of the lecture theatre. However, some students have their own laptops and tablets and they can move the slides to whichever slide they wish to. The lecturer does not look to see that they are following the right slide, nor does s/he ask permission to move on to the next slide. All materials are given to the students online before the lecture. They can access them from the virtual learning environment. If they wish to have a copy printed they should bring one. Many students do not bring paper copies, they read from their tablet, laptop or even their phone. In terms of =(paying attention)= the lecturer does not, generally check to see that students are reading the correct materials. However, =(moving on the slides)= at the visual screen at the front of the class, is a demonstration of =(pace)=. The lecturer is signalling what speed the lecture should

[13] An acknowledgement of an incongruity

be run at, where they should be. S/he is telling the students to keep up. So =(erases the board)=, =(moving on the slides)= are ways in which to manage the =(pace)=. This fits with Mondada and Svinhufvud's (2016) observation that writing is used as an interactive tool. As shown in conversational analysis the use here is similar to tools used in turn taking (Sidnell 2010). This should not be confused with control, as a student can put forward a =(welcome interruption)= and change the flow of the lecture, however many signals are given to indicate =(pace)=. When I had follow-up discussions with the lecturers it was pointed out to me, that if =(pace)= is wrong, the students will then intervene and tell you, in a =(complaint)=.

=(pace)=

The accomplishment of pace can be done a number of ways. As stated above, it can be indicated by the use of =(moving on the slides)=, but also through the acknowledgement of time.

Comments like, 'Right, I've got eight, minutes to look at this.'

The lecturer is claiming the next eight minutes to be used for whatever fashion follows on from this statement. The claiming of time as the lecturer's can also be done the other way around, 'we're not done yet. We still have ten minutes, TEN minutes.'

Here rather than signal not to interrupt, the lecturer raises the issue of time to stop the interruption. The students have become a =(noisy assemblage)=, too early, it is not the end of the lecture.

=(you will remember from the last lecture that)=

Garfinkel (2002) explains this to be a tying device. It is a signal that this lecture is part of a series of lectures. That there is a history of documented lectures which this is a part of. A way to signal to previous work, to prior knowledge, to tell the student to keep up. He gives other such examples 'you will remember…', 'as I told you before…'. I note in my observations that these devices also predicate the category of lecturer and student to one of attendance. But considering the hearer's maxim, there is incongruity in the utterances I heard.

Here is an example:

Transcript 23

L: While↑ I'm setting up↓ (.) I'd like you to all take down (.) the (.) handout that I gave out last week↓ (0.1) Those of you who haven't got the handout with them maybe you raise your hand↑ (.) that's the one its double sided, double sided and says (.) Literature Review one and two.

This is an instructed action (Garfinkel 2002). The lecturer has asked the students to produce a handout that has been given out in a previous week. Considering Garfinkel's issue of praxeological validity, this means that there is an assumption from the lecturer that the students will produce meaningful behaviour and therefore be able to produce the handout. However, this is followed by an invitation to take a handout, if they have not got one. There is the chance to get a copy again or for the first time, if anyone was not present last week, or has not got the handout with them. Some students have the handout, some raise their hands and receive one this week. The fact that some students have a copy of the handout from before the lecture indicates that this is a lecture in a series of lectures. There has been the opportunity to perform =(attentive student)=, this being that students have attended previous lectures or been able to get a copy of the handout before the lecture started. The handout is also available online.

There is no explanation given by any students as to why they do not have the handout already. Here we see evidence of Garfinkel's point about incompleteness. Garfinkel (2002) argues that social order is not about following rules but giving recognisable accounts. It is clear here that some of the students do not have the handout and how the request is given accounts for acceptance of that. This is a breach of expectation, the shared understanding is that student must attend and be prepared, but a chance at reparation is made. Nothing is said of the issue of why they do not have the handout. No explanation is asked for, no explanation is proffered. By handing out paper copies of the handout, the lecturer is also breaching expectations, as the university's rules are that students should access their own copies online and print them for themselves if they need it. It occurs to me at this point that some may be looking at it on their computers, hence they have not asked for a copy. The breach is not considered serious enough to cause any further disturbance*. The relationship is repaired, and the lecture can carry on (Sidnell

2010) the interaction could also be an implicit acknowledgement of the constraints that both parties are under.
The use of the handout as a tying device is rendered ineffective by the use of technology, thus creating an ambivalence around this interaction.

Another tying device used is the use of forgetfulness.

'So, did I say anything about... um, Journal Rankings?' This use of forgetfulness ties this lecture to the last, whilst also creating a discourse identity as the adjacency response will be from one who has attended the previous lecturer, thus putting the student who replies in the member group of 'engaged' (Goodwin 1987). The use of a question invites a response. The member who responds is identifying himself or herself as having been present the previous week. This is also a demonstration of Goffman's (1981) footing. Here the use of forgetfulness, and the requirement for an answer, aligns the students as present the week before.

Both the need for the handout and the reply to the questions about Journal Rankings identify those students who have engaged in the process and demonstrate praxeological validity. It categorises them as members to the 'committed' group.

A categorization device also used as a way of identifying students is =(the other group, said that)= . This identifies a recognizable feature of the module, which is that this is a lecture from a series of duplicate lecture to a large cohort of students. This remark implies that not all the students attend the same lecture.

In one large lecture, for a large cohort, where there are a number of lectures and seminars, reference was made to other groups.

Transcript 24

L: at [my session at] one thirty today and I asked students that's what they thought is management (0.1) They said (.) oh its leadership (.) well actually (.) these two subject areas (.) these two concepts overlap.

And later in the same lecture:

Transcript 25

L: Ok:ay (.) so how many of you (.) would like to be managed by a technocrat↑ (0.4) No one (.) the same as is the previous group (.) How many of you would like to be managed by an artist↑ (0.2) one person (.) are you on the pa:thway of entrepreneurship↑=

S: = no

Here the lecturer refers to other students. By comparing one group to another the lecturer is tying the groups together. This is not apparent in all lectures, but it is a technique used on large cohorts where the students are mixed in different groups. This highlights the specific nature of social order in action in universities as asserted by Eglin (2009). It is tying the lecture into the larger picture, but also showing the students what group they are a member of.

=(seeing the lecturer's preparation)=

Garfinkel (2002) highlights in his document of lecturing that this is not an overtly apparent performance feature but is embedded in the practices used. In the lectures I observed reference was made to handbooks to read and guidelines to follow. These references highlight work done by the lecturer that the students are expected to note. The topic of the lectures will be included in the handbook. Before the semester starts, the lecturer is expected to put materials online ahead of the day of the lecture, and within this there is =(topical organisation)=. These are formal rules set by the university and if not adhered to, can lead to the performance feature of =(student complaints)=, which is discussed in detail in the third part of the analysis, exploring shop floor problems. Again, there is a specifity to =(student complaints)=. The situation where they are invoked highlight the severity of the complaint. In the next section they are examined as a serious breach, but here they have been discussed as a regulatory device.

Garfinkel (1967) refers to the accomplishment of everyday life being unfinished, and often we don't understand the reflexive nature of everyday interaction, but we do become aware when expectations are breached. Whilst =(seeing the lecturer's preparation)= may not be something easy to see, it becomes obvious when the lecturer is not prepared. This can be explained by looking at the use of forgetfulness as an interactive resource. The lecturer started with:

Transcript 26

1 L: S:o (.) did I say anything about↑ (.) um (.)
Journal Rankings↑ =
S: =yes

In this context the lecturer does explain that they lecture the same material a number of times, and therefore it is easy to lose who has been told what. This could be seen as genuine forgetfulness, but as the conversation unfolds, it is obvious that the forgetfulness is structured to elicit answers. The lecturer goes on to say:

Transcript 26

L: What↑ did I say↓ about that↑ (0.2) What do you remember↑ (0.1) Ok:ay (.) which is the list that we are using↑

These all seems quite unremarkable, but this is then followed up by:

Transcript 27

L: What's the name of the list↑ h.hh (.) Well (.) theres similar lists (.) but (0.1) the one which I've put on (.) er (.) your module blackboard site is the Association of Business School Ranking (.) of Business and Management Journals (.) So as a recap (.) urm (.) if you (.) erm (.) as I mentioned

Whilst it is possible that the lecturer may very well need some reminders, this last sentence shows preparedness and understanding of what is expected. If not mentioned, certainly it has been included for the students to see.

=(exhibiting understanding: questions)=

In his original analysis Garfinkel (2002) states that the two-party nature of discussion means that the lecturer must show =(listening)= and exhibit =(understanding)=. However, Garfinkel (2002) also states that the lecture is a situation where the major rule is 'teachers may always talk next'. (Garfinkel 2002, pg. 238). There is a shared consensus that unlike other scenarios it is the lecturer who is seen and listened to, not the students. It is not a scenario where anyone may be required to talk next. This still rings true, but there is evidence of the social facticity of =(student may interject and disagree)=. In large lecture theatres the space tends to inhibit this, but interaction is built into the smaller lecture theatres. The hybrid use of time has also altered the dynamic. Again, on large modules, the lecture is still very much a lecture, but on smaller modules, space is allocated to be used as is best appropriate, and =(exhibiting understanding)= may be incorporated throughout the lecture, Indeed, both Garfinkel (2002) and Cazden (2001) make the point that the classroom environment gives the teacher the right to hold the floor at any time.

=(an audience in detail)=

Here Garfinkel (2002) poses the question, what does a lecturer expect to see to make up the performance feature of =(audience)=? The detail is more to do with the characteristic of what is =(audience)=? This is something, which will be discussed further in the next section of analysis where we look at shop floor problems or everyday breaches. In all the lectures observed the room was only partially full, as previously mentioned.

=(audience restiveness as the end of the lecture approaches)=

Garfinkel (2002) notes that students become restless towards the end of the lecture, but the lecturer carries on, despite this. Students do indeed signal the end of the lecture; they pack up their belongings, ready to leave on time. Both lecturer and students finish on time. The =(closing of the meeting)= is determined by the next lecture and the preparation of the room for that. The ending is abrupt, or so it seems. Openings and closing are generally very quick (Sacks 1974, cited in Silverman 1998)

In one lecture observed, the lecturer gave a summary of the lecture, and finished with:

Transcript 28

```
1   L:   So (.) I will see you in ten minutes (.)  in
2        the seminar room (.) and if not (.) next week
3        (.) Thank you.
```

This seems very sudden, but the students have already signalled they know it is the end with their restlessness. They were packing up their things and demonstrating =(getting ready to leave)=.

I will now explain the final part of the analysis.

8.3 - Analysis part three – The coat hanger method

The third part of this analysis section is a further attempt to understand how these issues play into the wider picture of =(doing academic work)=, which is not limited to =(doing lecturing's work)=, but aspects such as carrying out research have always

been hard to document. It aims to reach all objectives as set out as the purpose of this thesis. Watson (2011), in an effort to defend the use of ethnography, points out that it is painstaking and hard to see the work that goes into doing research. In order to understand the wider aspects of =(doing academic work)= I used the 'coat hanger method' (Garfinkel 2002, cited in Rawls and Duck 2017). This is when something is said to another to act as a 'coat hanger' for them to hang their story on. The use of the coat hanger method applied to discussions with colleagues helps to achieve research objective one and three. As these are accounts of people actions which are given after the event they also partially answer research objective two and four. The use of narrative is used in ethnomethodology to illustrate the sense making of participants and to account for their actions through their reflections.

In discussions with business school colleagues I have related stories of my own frustrations with the tensions of balancing my time or demonstrating competence in my job. I referred to breaches of my expectations, in terms of everyday frustrations, and used this as a coat hanger to gather their stories. Rawls and Duck (2017) state, that if the story presented is one that the person in discussion with feels some sort of affiliation, they will reciprocate with a similar story. If they do not understand they will show confusion and ask further questions. By relating my stories to colleagues, I found that they easily identified with my frustrations and were willing and able to give me similar stories of their own frustrations and how they had dealt with them. The use of breaches to start the conversation helps to highlight what is seen as incongruent with the shared assumption of a particular group, in this case academics. Once again this helps to make strange the familiar, with a view to understanding what is seen as the norm. Discussions with colleagues serve to highlight discrepancies in the shared understanding and the volume of stories built up show that myriad discrepancies occur.

In Rawls and Duck's research their use of this method involves two stages, the first is getting to know the participants, the second a more extensive discussion. My interviews were with colleagues within the business school I work in. I did not undergo a rapport building session as I knew them, so generally it consisted of one meeting. This was to explore what they considered to be everyday breaches of their role. In line with the coat hanger method, I gave examples of my own, to kick start the discussion. I did emphasise it was a discussion, not an interview. We were both sharing stories. Stories were gathered, and simple coding methods were applied to the data to examine performance features that were common in those stories.

The data was 'lumped' into areas where discussion was similar. The stories were categorized based on the theme of the story. These themes were analysed using wider literature to understand them in terms of how these accounts were presented. This means considering these accounts in terms of identity issues such as gender or experience (Saldana 2016).

This could be described as both purposive and convenience sampling (Miles, Huberman and Saldana 2014). These are common practices within qualitative data analysis. However, criticisms of this method are that it is not robust and may ignore the outliers of the study, which in turn can raise questions as to the validity of the findings (Murray et al. 2013). Small (2009) states this is an issue in defending qualitative research against quantitative. In defence of this method of sampling, Garfinkel (1967, 2002) highlights the issue of trust. Trust tends to be higher amongst those already known, so in the pursuit of more authentic stories convenience sampling is a worthy option. Small data sets with a limited number of codes can be seen as better. Overdoing the quantity in terms of numbers of interviews may flood the data and lead to a scant analysis as there is too much to drill into. Friese (2014, cited in Saldana 2016) states that over coding leads to a lack of coherence in the

analysis. The data was then presented as vignettes of conversation, to demonstrate them as the natural account given, rather than just to examine the context. This was not done using the Jefferson transcription system as used in the previous studies, however little was done to change the text. Sometimes it was condensed, and where parts were removed this was signalled with [ ] brackets. These vignettes were then examined using the methods of inquiry of MCA and EM.

When analysing these discussions it was important to understand that these discussions were accounts of practice, rather than observations. This is the practice used by Garfinkel (2002) in his paper studying the enactment of laboratory exercises in a physics programme. Garfinkel (2002) asserts individuals must account for themselves in such a way as to convince others of their status within a role. Without competent accomplishment of this, they may bring themselves into disrepute in terms of that role. This brings to mind that within these discussions I not only want to look at the content of the stories presented to me, but also the attributed aspects of how they are accounted and by whom. This also helps to build a macro sociological understanding. Cicourel (1981) asserts the use of ethnographic data is a good way to integrate micro and macro understanding.

Such data helps to explain how the members I conversed with orient themselves to show an understanding of their identity and their role (Housley and Fitzgerald 2015). Boje (2008) states that most stories told of organisational practice are terse-telling retrospective narratives. He describes them as pieces of a jigsaw puzzle, which are intent on providing a past narrative in the present logic. He also says that antenarratives are popular in business. This is a term he claims as his own, but his description is rather vague. He describes them as future oriented ways of sensemaking and explains that they often change as they are produced. Boje (2008) puts forward the question for us to consider; how will narrative change in

terms of ontology, epistemology, methodology and praxis? These are things that I need to consider in my interpretive stance on the accounts explained to me.

I have stated that the method used here is the coat hanger method. It allows me to incorporate my own stories in the discussion and allows me to gather stories of how others react to my stories. In my analysis I will draw on literature on identity and how that is reflected in the discussion between myself and the person I conversed with. This will involve considering my identity, their identity and our orientations to identity. Wider literature of relevance to understanding the context of HE will also be used as part of understanding the world in which this organisation operates, this helps with the macro sociological view.

I have coded the vignettes, by signaling whether the individual was male or female, and also adding some other codes. The following codes are used:

L = Lecturer

SL = Senior Lecturer

PL = Principal Lecturer

HoD = Head of Department

These codes indicate where the individuals are in the hierarchy of the organisation, so are useful for the analysis as an indication of status and power.

I also coded further according to their role.

ML = Module Leader

CL = Course Leader

These two aspects demonstrate levels of responsibility, so again are helpful in understanding how people account for themselves in their stories. Equally they may indicate how the reader or the researcher may view the comments made by the individual. Many studies in EM have also raised the issue of the constitutive nature of how research is gathered and interpreted. This is well illustrated by Lynch (1991) when he gives examples of how the execution of data gathering is expected and accepted in scientific settings. Likewise, in social settings, stating things such as position will influence how the data is perceived and received. The coding is presented with each vignette to aid the understanding of aspects of MCA and EM.

In this section of analysis I have looked at the accounting practices. I have not used conversation analysis, but I have used discourse analysis to consider what was said and how it was framed, although there is some overlap in the analysis, in terms of theory applied. This is to fit with Cicourel's view (Marcon and Gopal 2008) that there also needs to be a broader overview that is not provided in CA. Edwards and Potter (1992) refer to this as a discursive action model. As these were discussions I focused more on the positioning of the individual, than their role in the group, as is done in CA. This will help to achieve an understanding of how the individual makes sense of their work, as outlined in research objective one. By coding these and looking at the volume of similar stories I am building an understanding of the shared "distributed cognition" as emphasized by Cicourel (1974). In their discussions with me, people were sharing their accounts of how they see themselves in the wider social order of university life.

As explained earlier, this research is seeking to understand identity with this method, by considering Cooley's (1983, cited in O'Brien 2011) looking glass self. Identity tends to be established through how it is reflected back by others actions and recognitions.

8.3.1 - Non-recognition of =(doing lecturing's work)=

Non recognition of the performance feature of =(doing lecturing's work)= is a common shop floor problem. This emerged in discussions on the issue of attendance. Each semester is twelve weeks long and students are required to attend their timetabled studies for those twelve weeks. Rooms are allocated based on the numbers of students who are supposed to attend for those twelve weeks. Lecturer's time is allocated based on time in the classroom, but a common discussion point was the issue of students not attending the lectures and seminars.

I mean I'm a course leader and I teach my students and I have students I've never seen. I might be lucky to see them in the residential and this is increasing more and more.

Well, I've got five courses with two entry points so there's probably about a hundred and twenty on the books. Fifty started in September full time. Thirty-five in January and then you've got a mix of part timers but it's the same thing on an undergraduate module there were students that I never saw in the seminars. In twelve weeks of seminars they would never have attended.

Not once. And that's happened a couple of years running now. Which is an interesting one, there is this notion of making it more interesting in treating them like customers but I'm not… but the other side of it is, the more you give them the more they want.

(Discussion 2: Male SL/CL)

This course leader demonstrates his importance by giving the numbers of students on his books. Within the business faculty higher numbers are seen as more important and course leaders are expected to get the numbers up. His statement tells us that he is aware of this importance, however, he also expresses futility that he has no control over whether he sees them or not. They might be paying money, but they are not all attending He presents this as a dichotomy, some will not engage and some will be demanding. He refers to the fact that for the last two years there has been more pressure and also that the more on offer the more they want. This fits with the notion of the neo-liberal model of the student as a consumer and the importance of customer satisfaction. Although this is not how it is stated, the inference on satisfaction leads to the dilemma of what the academics must offer (Williams 2013). This course leader starts to say he is not sure that giving them what they want is helpful. He shows distrust of the discourse of the student satisfaction model.

[In a module of] sixty students there's only about twenty coming to the seminar anyway… its infuriating but also I'm not sure what to do then because in a way I don't want to be angry to the students that are there because they're the good ones,[ ] now last semester with [this module] the module leader, it was really problematic and so for a lot of weeks we put the three seminar groups together, because of the lack of attendance and then I realise that actually it's me that feels so lost, X(name) and Y(name). Y, just, he, well he just is… what's the word, sort of, not even frustrated, he says he can't believe it. He just says, I'm not spending time on this, which I'd like to get to that stage, in a way.
(Discussion 1: Female: SL/ML)

This academic expresses her dismay at teaching on another module (not hers), at how the attendance affected her ability to teach. She accounts for the difficulty of

how to deal with the lack of attendance. She states that the lack of attendance made her cross, but she was faced with the dilemma that the ones who turn up are not the ones she can express this at. She described herself as lost, accounting for her sense of helplessness at dealing with this. The university puts an emphasis on attendance but this issue persists. She also accounts for herself very differently to another academic also teaching this group. She shows a sense of her own isolation, but also her envy of someone who doesn't seem to care anymore. This account gives a sense of personal stress at the situation. The person she talks about who is not caring is offering a null-response (Rawls and Duck 2017). This is a device used by the recipient to preserve their own identity as the other option in this fractured reflection (Cooley 1902 cited in Rawls and Duck 2017) is to question her own identity (Rawls and Duck 2017). The female is bewildered, the male is dismissive. This shows both the preservation of identity and the erosion of identity, as mentioned by Rawls and Duck (2017).

I had one student the other day (in a lecture). [ ] Well, and what has happened is, for two years in a row now, we had this one really small group and I said at the beginning of the year,'can we not do this?' So the HoD cancelled it but [the team who cancel] didn't look at whether the students didn't have anywhere to go, so we ended up, I actually kind of, did the work in the end, I got a spreadsheet looked at what the students… and went, well, there isn't any where this one student has only… got this choice and we said they can do this choice. They can't go to any of the other slots so we had do run it for eight people. And then you end up the week when you've got one and I've got to be honest, I was fuming, because I thought how much effort have I put in to be prepared and I can't do any of this 'well let's all discuss'. (It was a three-hour session of combined lecture and seminar)
So we did an hour together, she has one to one for an hour basically, of my lecturing her.

(Discussion 8, Female: SL/ML/CL)

The female lecturer describes herself as subjected by others to this situation, she describes herself as helpless due to others' decisions. In the final account she expresses bewilderment. The issue of non- attendance affects her understanding of what it is to learn, this is expressed through how she cannot carry out her lesson plan. Her comment conveys that the category of teaching, in her understanding, is bound to the activity of social learning. This utterance exposes how the individual member sees themselves in relation to the activities of the group. This final vignette also displays a similar understanding of teaching and learning.

I think that one of the tensions as well is, one of the other tensions is about the kind of… the student experience and attendance, because you can't, you know, with the best will in the world, [ ] you know, the whole point, as far as I am aware of a seminar is that students learn from each other's reading, questions, experience and it puts pressure on us to say something but also what do you say?
(Discussion 4, Female: SL/ML)

These are four vignettes about the shop floor problem of attendance. Rawls and Duck (2017) call non-recognition of the formal situational status of something like this a violation, a breach. They argue that, implicit in interaction are mutual 'involvement obligations' (Rawls and Duck, 2017, pg. 39), but to not be there is to not be involved. This is a null response, a non-recognition of =(doing lecturing's work)=. It is likely that the phrase 'involvement obligations' stems from Goffman (1967) who wrote about them in terms of interaction. Here I have applied them to a wider sense. In this social context, there is an expectation of attendance to the social environment that is known as lecture. Rawls and Duck (2017) refer to this as a fracturing of identity. Using Goffman's theory (1959) they draw on the need for identity to be shared, and

whilst the self may not be affected, what is reflected back demonstrates a different viewpoint of the mutual understanding. Garfinkel (2006) focuses on the situated identity and incongruities if this is not shared. This is highlighted in Garfinkel's (1963) perspective of trust (cited in O'Brien 2011). This is built into the social interaction, and when this is not reciprocated, this breaks down the trust and usually leads to defensive behaviours.

All lecturers felt that the performance of lecturing was a large part of their workload, and that it was often ignored by the students. Monitoring devices, such as technology for them to swipe in were/are in place, but these technologies did little to affect the issue. I have often heard lecturers claim that they don't trust students with this, as they will get their friends to 'swipe them in', thus demonstrating the lack of trust when reflections are not mutual. Reflecting on my own experience; I ran a weekend workshop, there were less students in the room than on the signing in sheet, so myself and my colleague went to efforts to work out which student wasn't there, and to contact them, and report them to their course leader for this deception. That we didn't take it on face value also shows a lack of trust.

One colleague spoke of how attendance wasn't an issue on the module, but then recounted stories of how she dealt with the issue, thus demonstrating it was an issue.

And those of you who don't (attend), it is not designed as distance learning and you will struggle. And then they got the message and I had really good attendance because the seminars are very linked to what I will be doing in the exam and what they were doing for the course work, so the external thinks I ask a lot of them but actually they've been coached through it, they have had worked examples not the same, but very similar they could pick up those ideas and go okay. That relates to

this, and also in the exam I am asking them more than one thing, so it wouldn't be just one seminars work. But they've got all the pieces they need to put it together, but they have to have attended. So attendance, yeah, and I e-mail the ones, one of my expectations is, I e-mail week one if they haven't attended and say, oh you haven't, we missed you today, blah, blah. Have a look at blackboard, week two if they're missing week one and week two, then I say, we discussed the assignment today and you will have missed out, do talk to your peers when you are ready, don't offer them an appointment, don't offer them to come and see me, because I don't think that is the way to manage it. And by week three I offer to deregister them from the module, which I can't officially do, but they don't know that, so then they turn up. Yeah. And then they get the idea that this is what happens on this module.
(Discussion 9, female, SL/ML)

Whilst this story starts with an air hopeful of success, the success seems to have come from defensive, threatening behaviour from the lecturer. Whilst accounted as a solution, this account was given with the purpose to solve the shop floor problem, but as the story unfolds the solution appears not to be as easy as first stated. This conflicts with Hester and Francis' (2004) assertion that lecturers do not use monitoring devices, and these tactics indicate a number of monitoring devices and seem to go against the perceived identity of lecturing instead of teaching.

Another story showed how other colleagues could undermine the tactics used. This lack of consistency in practice was an occurring theme in many accounts. It was illustrated in the last section of analysis with the method of handing out worksheets. In the previous account the action was done in such a way that indicated that there was no imperative to take one. By handing out the leaflet in this way, the action was rendered confusing in its purpose. In this next account it is apparent that different

approaches by different people in the same module also gave disoriented messages to group membership.

I'm stricter when it, when it means they have to come in and do a group work and I notice that, I try to monitor their attendance and I will send e-mail. I will definitely, sometimes we give notice, you know, the module leader puts a notice on Blackboard saying: okay this is week four; this is when you should be forming your group yeh? This is your last chance, whatever. And I always seek out clarification from the module leaders afterwards that I have some students who have just not turned up, even though this notice has been put on blackboard, and they say, okay, we can still give them one more week. And I thought, ah okay, fine, so what I will do is e-mail the students, what I do is I e-mail the students and I sort of remind them, saying… if they still don't turn up, which has happened then I send an e-mail saying you have missed your chance to form your own group today, and now you have been put into this group now, and this is so and so, please get in touch, as soon as possible, and nine times out of ten these are the weak students.
(Discussion 8, female, L)

This lecturer uses the category of 'weak' student. Quinn (2012) calls this the student as deficit discourse, however this is built around viewing the student as not being adequately prepared for HE. This is a defensive discourse to preserve the identity of the academic. The account also demonstrates, as did the previous ones, that the shop floor problem does not have a recognisable solution that the academic can apply. It also shows that the lack of consistent method causes distrust amongst teams.

When discussing these issues, the academics I spoke to would often refer back to their time as a student. Of two, both admitted to not having the best attendance or being the best student but still find this an issue within their own student cohort. What is not clear is whether they find this an issue because attendance is now monitored by the university, or whether this is an issue because it is worse, or because their identity has changed. This is an issue that needs further exploring. Garfinkel (2002) referred to situated identity, it is possible that although these accounts make light of attendance themselves as students, they see it differently in their identity as academic. Based on the accounts given it is presented as an identity issue.

8.3.2 - Non-recognition of =(preparing for lessons)=

A commonly cited problem in discussions was what to do with students who attended seminars but had not prepared for them. Written into the curriculum for any course is the hours of taught learning and the hours of self-directed learning. Students are expected to attend, having prepared themselves for the seminar. This is largely ignored with many turning up without having put in any preparation.

I have no clue what to do, it's more in class [ ] but is when they haven't prepared, so I prefer a lecture to a seminar in that sense because… and its happened so much over the last year that… because I'm trying to make [my modules] more interactive, more applied but that implies that they actually have to read a bit beforehand otherwise you can't discuss things in class.
Discussion 1, Female, SL/ML

In describing a null-response, Rawls and Duck (2017) highlight that there are a range of responses to this and that these responses usually fit into two categories. One

category was shown earlier, this is to dismiss the response to preserve the identity of the person who feels that they are not recognised or the other one is to take responsibility for the non-recognition and therefore damage the self. This female lecturer accounts for the issue as if it is one caused by her teaching. She is making efforts to improve the quality of teaching, but the students are not reciprocating. The lack of response to this interactive approach, as described, brings into stark relief the issue of shared expectations. The students are attending these interactive seminars/lectures, thinking of them as lectures. They are not reciprocating in the shared understanding (Garfinkel 1967).

There isn't much I can do, I mean I used to feel, at the beginning I would feel a bit… insecure and I will try to extract as much information as I could from them but, after a while, this is not HE… HE is a two-way street, is facilitating ideas and learning so if they don't come prepared I will say, right you have fifteen minutes to read through that piece of article, which you should have done, which would require you at least an hour to do so in your spare time, but now you have fifteen minutes, so you better be, I hope you're good at skimming and scanning and picking out the main points and take it from there. It's, it's like, it's like er, yeah, pulling teeth basically.
Discussion 8, female, L

You cannot create a good learning experience for your good students in a seminar if only four of them have read what you've given them to do and they are the only people, you know and maybe three of the four have been to the lecture and been to the workshop, because nobody is on the same page and you know, the whole point, as far as I am aware of a seminar is that students learn from each other's reading, questions, experience, and it puts pressure on us to say something but also what do you say?
Discussion 4, female, SL/ML

Again, here are fractured reflections of the teaching identity. The lecturers feel this is a breach of their role. They cannot do their job properly if the reflected practice is not present. This goes against the dominant view that formal organisations give structure to social order because here the practice is not reciprocated (Rawls and Duck 2017). Gourlay (2015), drawing on a study done in 2013, highlights that the participation model of engagement threatens to pathologise other forms of engagement. However, if the structured seminar is based on participation, it renders the seminar an empty vessel if participation is not reciprocated. Both the documented observation of =(doing lecturing's work)= and the examples given show repair (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977, cited in Sidnell 2010) taking place, but the breach of expectation is portrayed to me as affecting academic work and identity. Williams (2013) asserts that academics fail to challenge students intellectually, as they wish to pacify them, however, these ignored interactions show that learning is proffered but not taken up and that little can be done to challenge this from the point of the academic. The second account describes a 'good' student'. This binds the category of 'good student' to one who engages and prepares. This is explicit in the discourse.

8.3.3 - Non-acceptance of grade given

Another area mentioned as an issue is the querying of grades. This is a practice that is explicitly stated as not allowed in the academic regulations.

I demand that you are my servant or <laughs> and I react in different ways depending on my mood depending on how tired I am or, if it's the fifth student with that er, in my good days I'll have a very nuanced answer. I'm trying to explain that they are there to learn, I mean, the typical things I get [ ] they're not classroom based, they might be classroom, but they are sort of, in conversations in my office,

they come and complain about a supervision, about their mark, about whatever, yeah… um, complaint. What did I want to say and um so yeah they say we are paying a lot of money, I've done a lot of effort for my (work), I have expected it to be in the 70s, and I try, in my good days I try to explain the difference between what's on paper and what their effort is.
Discussion 1, Female, SL/ML

I've had a student e-mail me and er, ask if his mark, you know …'I got 57, can it be remarked?' And I asked why, and he said 'well, it will bring my average down', but its only worth 25% of the paper, 'well it will bring my average down, depending on what I get for the main piece.
Discussion 4, Female, SL/ML

I've had a level 4 student and she is almost apoplectic, because I gave her 64 and she said she's always had more than 64 and I thought… she went to [the module leader] and she said I don't think she's even read my paper properly.
Discussion 7, Female, SL/ML/CL

These three examples from different discussions show the recurring theme that students query their grades. The regulations state that you cannot query academic judgement but there is a trend towards questioning this idea of academic judgement informally. These stories are from a small collection, others not recorded, but this is a favourite topic amongst academics. I encounter this in my day-to-day interactions with my academic colleagues. But there are further explanations of this shop floor problem:

But yesterday I had a student shouting in my office, she, she actually passed her proposal [assignment] but she wasn't happy that her supervisor hadn't been available

in the days before the submission to look at the draft and to basically give her comments to improve.
It was a very weird situation, this has been going on for weeks by e-mail and I wanted the student to come and see me, she, she wanted to leave it to e-mail, this is a Nigerian student so there's a cultural issue going on, but she, she came in my office and she had rage in her eyes.
Discussion 1, Female, SL/ML

In this final account, the lecturer uses a recognition of culture. By naming this as a cultural issue the lecturer is applying the category of Nigerian as bound to the concept of not understanding. Foucault (2004) refers to the racist nature of biopower. What he really means is that those who are seen to have more power can segregate themselves from others. By invoking membership categories the lecturer can class a group as 'in the right category', or equally as 'not in the right category'. However, at a macro level such activities may be uncovered as a subtle form of racism but at local levels this is a response to a null-response as the lecturer is looking for a way to preserve her own identity. Cicourel (1981) explores this by highlighting that education processes are put into place to rationalise education career trajectories. In doing so they also determine, through how they are used, conditions which either close off, or open up, opportunities for participants. This is also true of other organisational practices. If access is determined by knowing the right behaviours, this is going to affect those who are not given access to such behaviours in their earlier interactions, as explicated by Garfinkel in his PhD study (1952).

Knowledge of the internal accounting systems and how this determines success can be seen in this next account.

The fact that her supervisor hadn't seen her in the week before the submission, but the student only contacted the supervisor a week before [ ] but, I've seen e-mails from the student and [supervisor]. The student was grasping at all these straws but I had an e-mail of the students saying, from just a week before, saying I'm introducing myself, I'm your supervisee, I haven't been in touch because I've been ill, blah, blah, so I tried to show the student there's two things going on here, yeah your supervisor wasn't available for comment it's not really the role of a supervisor to comment on a full draft anyway. … Oh, but other students that that, yeah…so, um then I get in to normally the spiel of well, the supervisor will see what is necessary. The student passed, she had a 56% and all the other modules she failed so I really think, I still think there's something really weird going on, but in the end we went round and round in circles and then I just try to sort of stop the conversation and give them a procedural way out, saying whatever happens you can still complain and then I try to reiterate. She was shouting out 'There's no use complaining!'
Discussion 1, Female, SL/ML

Here the lecturer is recounting a tale of student mistrust. This is one I have heard more than once. If the academics suggest they put in a complaint, students often dismiss the process. They don't trust it. Again, this is an example of how if both parties do not share an understanding of what to do in the shared social context, then trust is eroded (Garfinkel 1967). Whilst literature tells us that academics defend learning against consumerism, framing this by the statement that knowledge cannot be bought (Williams 2013), such micro accounts serve to show that the practices used to acquire knowledge may not be the same for all. If assessment is based on following the right set of practices, then discrepancies will arise if these are not known.

But she was more…'.Why did I fail? You know, I've done this'… and she said I didn't do this. So, it [the meeting] was a bit slow to start [ ] And if you have somebody who, you of kind of feel, straight away, that you are not working on the same team, it's kind of, you know two people going against each other, it's not very helpful. Either, but, er, so as you saw she wasn't really, um, she wasn't really pleased with what she heard, but knowing the follow up, she went to [the module leader] because I sent her there, because she had er, a kind of grievance that she is… She wanted more help. She wanted further, kind of assistance, she wanted to e-mail me; she wanted me to look at the draft of her next proposal.

Um, and she wasn't happy that I said no to reading a full draft. She felt that other, um, supervisors and lecturers do that, so I told her that, if she feels, you know, that there is some inconsistency in the delivery she needs to discuss it with, with the module leader. So, knowing what would follow, I think the good thing that she was absolutely clear with what it was, what the deficiencies of her proposal were. Discussion 3, Female, SL/ML

These quotes from lecturers show that although the students may accept the grade, they express that they directly correlate their grade expectancy with the experience they had in getting the grade. If the grade is not satisfactory they are complaining because of the experience they have had. As already stated academic orientation to process can be different. Williams (2013) notes that the Higher Education Act (1998) introduced the NSS (National Student Survey) as a way of measuring the student experience, but that in reality this measure of satisfaction is temporary and not a measure of quality, as it used to be. In essence this measure of the quality of their experience is not going to surface until a few years on, when they look at the impact on their career. As Williams goes on to say, this measure of satisfaction has the danger of being a measure of what the student expects, which goes against

definitions of learning. As students query their grade, and see this as the fault of the assessor, they are, in fact, creating a fractured reflection or non-recognition of =(student learning)= as a performance feature. This is part of the argument of William's book (2013), the erosion of learning, and the university experience of credit accumulation. Williams (2013) makes the point that students are framed as consumers of higher education in the literature. The university programmes are set up as a commodity, but fundamentally learning is not a simple transaction that can be paid for. Back (2016) also highlights this issue, giving the example of a student who moans that he needed a higher grade to get a 2:1, thus narrating Williams' (2013) point of credit accumulation. Williams (2013) notes that getting a degree is packaged as a short-term solution to a long-term goal, but therefore becomes more instrumental than transformative. Ancient ideals of learning are under attack. These accounts show the stark reality of this. Some lecturers gave explanations of how they dealt with it. The first quote in this section alludes to nuancing answers. I have also heard this lecturer talk about using the phrase, 'we mark on attainment, not effort.' However, what EM exposes, is that the accounting practices of learning may not be shared, which will make the learning experience a fractured reflection for both.

I certainly try to explain to students why I have marked in a certain way and if you make the criteria explicit and if you mark the criteria and give full comments I tend to give very detailed comments against the criteria and explain exactly what the positives are and the negatives. But I do try to and with my, you know, [another lecturer] says give them the shit sandwich, that sort of thing. Well, he's absolutely right, I mean you have got to finish on a high, you start on a good one, you finish on a high, I think there might be a student out there but, in the middle, there are things you need to explain, and students will accept that generally.
Discussion 6, Male, HoD,ML

Acceptance of the outcome comes from showing the student they are wrong, but given the troublesome nature of this conversation, (Jefferson 1996a) there is a need to repair the issue, so this needs to be done in such a way to acknowledge their efforts and the breach of their expectation. There is a need to get off the troublesome issue and stepwise into something which is perceived as a nicer topic. Such complaints become a performance feature because the process of learning does not have a shared understanding. Quinn's (2012) notion of the student as a deficit may well be the case, but these interactions illustrate that this may be that the procedures have served to block them before (Cicourel 1981).

A way put forward to deal with this is the management of student expectations.

And the side of students, er, I have found that I have two kind of strategies to do this. And the main one, that I have developed over the last two or three years, is to, from the very beginning I started to set expectations right, to say to them, you're here, to get an education or to get a good grade then, my loyalty is not to you, it's not to the university, it's to the country and I need to… to certify that you know something. And if you don't know it, I'm sorry, it won't happen.
Discussion 5, Male, SL/ML

Because I sat in with someone from marketing because they had got a student unhappy with their project and stuff and I mean, they've since got a claim up, yeah, they put in a complaint and stuff. The student's idea was only going through the comments and they felt that if they demolish the comments, they could get a mark, [ ] I mean, that was why I was asked to sit in the meeting.
Discussion 2, Male, PL/CL/ML

I am aware of the technique of looming being used when a student has complained. This technique is the getting together of two lecturers so they are a stronger membership group against the one student. It is framed as having an 'impartial' member there, but it is also a way of strengthening your position through membership. In the account put forward to me, the academic is stating ways in which the student's argument was flawed in the way it was structured. The conversation is geared towards an understanding of arguing techniques. These male accounts differ from the accounts given by females which are less combative, and demonstrates a more collaborative approach to the issue. Using terms such as 'nuanced answers', and 'on my good days' demonstrates this is not a welcomed part of the job.

Another common theme which arose in discussions was the issue of creating time for research.

8.3.4 - The shop floor problem of creating time for research accomplishment

I asked people how they made time for research. In conversation with fellow academics this is something often discussed. It seemed a worthwhile shop floor problem to ask about. This is a performance feature that is regularly discussed within the academic arena, and in my work as both an HR professional in academia and then an academic trying to accomplish aspects of the job; I note it is a common topic, and one that no feasible easy solution is offered for.

I had a conversation with [another lecturer] yesterday or the day before, after the REF meeting and um, I mean without going into the specifics about her research and stuff, she definitely feels, and she's not the only one, that what is expected of us isn't… isn't feasible in reality and is also not good for what is not really what

academics should do and she was… and I do accept her point that, well, we are being asked to produce X amount of stuff, er in the short time all for the performance of the university or the performance of the head of research, to get his professorial, but I'm quite cynical about it but I sort of accept that. Yeah, that is going to be a factor, yeah, so but other people have more problems with that.
I'm trying to, sort of, um, get my, my own kind of interests out of it, so maybe not do the research that I'd like to do, long term qualitative research, and sort of see where I'm going with stuff, um but that's not going to be feasible. Or I have to do it in my own time, I'm not going to have research time, so I'll try to negotiate, this is not something that I, this negotiation isn't something that talk about something, like an internal process. So, okay, this is the outcomes that people want I'll just sort of adapt. Um I think I'm good at adapting, not all people have that.
Um, in my conversation with [the other lecturer] she had a point and she made me think like, um, that we have to be maybe a bit more resistant as to otherwise we'll get sort of squeezed into a, well, a way of performing that's so… well, business focussed, performance focussed that everything related to interesting research and valuable findings is is… and also our personal interests and personal or professional, um, er, how do you? Pride, I suppose is not, not considered at all and I do think she has point. She didn't use those words at all, that's what I sort of gather, and it made me think about yeah…

Discussion 1, Female, SL/ML

In this account we see an account of an account of another. This could be seen as a distancing technique from the subject matter of being cynical of research writing. This lecturer accounts for her distrust of the process of research bids. What is clear in this account, although there is evidence that this is expressed tentatively, through a distancing technique, there is a lack of trust shown between the university's

managing of research writing and the individual identity of =(doing research)=. Within this account the academic goes on to explain how she tries to include her own interests but sees this is becoming something she does in her own time. This tension between university needs and the individual needs is accounted as disappointment in the psychological contract. The lack of trust is clear in the account.

I think for me the main tension is between the two parts of the job. The two main parts of the job for me are teaching and research. And er, in my, sort of, if you like, in terms of my interests teaching presents about 10% research about 90%, for research, by that I mean to say, scholarship in general so conferences and talks and thinking and reading and so on. So let's say 90/10, right? And of course, the reality is far more mundane than that and so it's the opposite, so 90% is teaching related duties and 10% if you can call it like that is research. So obviously there is a massive tension there between the two and I have tried, pretty much everything in the books I guess, to deal with this. So I always try to sort it out by myself. By that I mean to say that I try to avoid completely to rely on colleagues, so to ask for help, for example because I think that is not fair. That increases the workload for other people so unless I am desperate or something, so you know, that's not part of the way in which I deal with it. So what I try to do instead is to by myself, I try to carve up spaces from the teaching to put research in there, yeah. So for example, having two screens some very basic thing, where you have er, a research screen and a teaching screen. The two sides of the brain, the problem is that most of the time the research screen goes into sleeping mode. You know, when the other is always on and hot and boiling but somehow I always have it there and anyway. So the papers are in there and minimised at the moment, because I am doing two. But then it's always there, even though I don't have time to write something its sort of there, because I need to feel that at least I had it in front of me.

It doesn't do anything, it's simply to manage that sense of, not to manage, but to cope a little bit. That sense of guilt, that time passes without you accomplishing anything. But somehow, in the back of your mind, and I always think that research benefits from you, in some sense at least having the thought about how you are going to finish that particular sentence, in your mind for the next three days. Which you never, you know, you might not get to write anything else but at least that, when you finally get back to it, you know, you can pick up where you left.
Discussion 5, Male, SL/ML

This academic accounts for his frustration at the job, but also asserts his independence in how he resolves it. His account shows that he does not see the role of academic as a team role, but one of an individual. He puts forward a solution which is to constantly put pressure on himself, but not his colleagues. He does not offer this as an achieved accomplishment, he has not succeeded in getting the balance right.

Whereas here, many people, this is my personal view, but many people are so insecure they are not research active, er, teaching is the only thing that they do and they think that to do it well we have to kind of go along with everything that the students say and that, for somebody like me who believes the job of an academic is more rounded and has these other dimensions as well you have to create time for the work that is important but not urgent and that's why it takes often the back seat, that's, that's a huge challenge, to be in this kind of environment.
Discussion 3, Female, SL/ML

This academic accounts for the frustration in this constant tension by seeing it as the fault of others. This was also put forward in other accounts. Some academics see the issue of the tension being that others are not sharing their view on how an academic

should perform. Goffman (1959) states that as actors we enter performances such as these, with the stage having already been set by others. Fanghanel (2012) also acknowledges, somewhat naively, that there are many roles that an academic plays. Goffman (1959) states that when this is the case, this puts the individual in a dilemma as to which of these, often quite dissimilar, cases to put forward. This account shows that the academics here have prioritised their identities in a different way than other colleagues have, which may cause some of these identities to be spoiled (Goffman 1963).

You can kind of get stuck and you fall behind and become unemployable, stuck in a dead end and you think, you know, there is no way to move anywhere else because this place just made me work so long and so hard, the teaching, that I didn't manage to develop other parts of the job and now I'm not an attractive employee for other places, I think this is the kind of thing [learning new skills outside of work] that I'm trying to do as a way of coping and as a mechanism long term.

Discussion 3, Female, SL/ML

The same account also shows a concern for career progression, and having to seek work, or education outside of the university to ensure career progression. Research is seen as the route to career progression.

I'm doing a Maths course, and its damn challenging, (at another university) really has quite high standards and its evening so they give you a lot of input but then there is no provision for practicing, and I'm not practicing and I'm falling behind but I think one way or another perhaps I will manage to do it within the time but that gives me that, kind of feeling that I will improve my employability because the whole idea behind it is to study statistics and they will not take you on without proper maths background and then I can, kind of, this gives me various options.

Discussion 3, Female, SL/ML

This resonated with another story, of a female lecturer not feeling developed, and looking outside of the department for more interesting work.

Another lecturer who told me all the things that they do, I asked how he managed it:

Badly, all the selfish stuff, all the 'me' stuff is what gets sacrificed. And my vow this year is that it won't.
It is a very, it is difficult to manage, because sometimes they creep up on you without you realising they are doing it, but I think it's just rationing your time. Because certain students will keep coming back and take time because we've just had a few, and it's also just knowing I have sixth sense that picks up collusive behaviour when students play people up.
Discussion 2, Male, PL/CL/ML

This lecturer is on a PhD by publication and made reference to being behind on getting the publications done. Another discussion lead to the answer of how to manage it.

Well I probably don't actually…
Discussion 6, Male, HoD

This statement gives a sense of underachievement from the individual. It starkly highlights the personal disappointment, the sense of failure.

8.3.5 Fractured reflections of =(doing academic work)=

Many of the stories I collected were of disagreements between staff on how to manage their workload or deal with certain situations.

Fractured reflections (Rawls and Duck 2017) appear in the stories, showing that understandings of the job differ between academics, leading on from the last section, this includes how academics prioritise teaching and research. As Goffman (1959) notes participants need to have a shared consensus of the background expectations.

We've mentioned the incident on the [ ] module, you know, where again, it's not so much, it's not so much between me and the student, it's between a different understanding of the role between...
Discussion 3, Female, SL/ML

This lecturer gives an explanation about collegial techniques used in a previous organisation to deal with little issues. The module leader was unhappy with her using the technique of knocking on the table to get the student's attention.

So it was much easier in this respect, that people would try to, kind of, work together in such a way… that they wouldn't create additional work for each other. This was something that just wouldn't happen there, whereas here, many people, this is my personal view, but many people are so insecure they are not research active, er, teaching is the only thing that they do and they think that to do it well we have to kind of go along with everything that the students say and that, for somebody like me who believes the job of an academic is more rounded and has these other dimensions as well you have to create time for the work that is important but not urgent and that's why it takes often the back seat, that's, that's a huge challenge, to be in this kind of environment.
She goes on to say

And it does, it does, also create some frustrations and I think, yes treating people like customers very often involves what I have mentioned already, kind of telling them, telling them what they want to hear, but then it creates further tensions, you know, um down the line but when these tensions are behind the scenes and they are not visible to students some people think, you know, it's fine. So, one other example, I don't know if it's good in terms of your research, if it's something you are after but we had this difference of opinion with another module leader, when I was working on their module in that I, I go to the class and I set that kind of clear expectations and I tell students clearly what they will need to do, and sometimes again, it may sound harsh, it may sound a bit abrupt…
Discussion 3, Female, SL,ML

This is what Macfarlane (2015) refers to as a dualism. The research/teaching dualism is a category dualism. MacFarlane notes that the university often dictates the nature of what is prioritised, however here we see that this can differ amongst staff within the same department. This can spill into how issues are dealt with in terms of the student experience as the above examples show. Below this same dualism manifests in the interactions between how staff might deal with other staff. It is interesting to note that in the above vignette, she refers to the issue of treating the students like customers, which is mentioned in the literature (Williams 2013). Participants may or may not have read the literature, but they are aware of the issue as it stands.

In another discussion that occurred there were two stories about fractured reflections of managerial versus collegial working. One colleague wanted to swap with another to do an afternoon slot. She wanted to teach the full time post graduate students as she had lost her confidence teaching the part time ones who didn't interact with her

so readily. The module leader agreed to swap, but the other colleague appeared not willing, so the module leader approached the head of department to deal with it as they had the managerial authority.

And I knew she had [talked to her about it] because I was walking through the atrium and she saw she and me strode across, and she said WHY did you do that? I said, sorry what? Why did you go to [head of department (HoD)] that's not very collegial, why didn't you talk to me? And I said, Well, I did talk to you and you said it's in my timetable and as far as I could tell you thought that was it. Um, and she was really really cross about it.
Discussion 7, Female, SL/CL/ML

The second story from the same discussion goes as follows;

But then, when she didn't do the marking, and this is what really strikes me, she said to me I'm being collegial I've told [the HoD]. So she got cross with me for not being collegial but then she felt that was collegial and I can't help but feel, your idea of collegial and mine is not the same thing. Because she said, no I said to [the HoD] it will come out of my research budget and I talked to [the HoD] and [the HoD] said there's nobody else to do it, so I had to [do the marking] it.
Discussion 7, Female, SL/ML/CL

Macfarlane (2015) refers to the collegial/managerial dualism as a moral one. The collegial discourse is the romanticised past view of the good old days (Macfarlane 2015) and serves to demonise the systems and processes referred to as new managerialism (Deem et al. 2007). However, as MacFarlane notes, in the work of Marginson (1997) this is often self-selecting and works like a country club rather than the democratic system it is invoked as. As highlighted by Deem et al (2007),

academic managers are usually academic anyway, which means that the collegial system still exists as academics are mainly managing academics. The term managerial is seen as pejorative (MacFarlane 2015) and there is resistance to it. By using the term collegial in the account, the individual is idealising their approach. Their ideal is explicit for the hearer. They are binding their decision to the category of collegial.

The next section highlights that some academics seem to be more equal than others.

8.3.6 - Performing =(precarity)=

A common theme in my discussions with female lecturers was the difficulty of their position not being authoritative. This is more an inferred understanding than a concrete observation. The discussion where this was observed were between myself and other female lecturers so I am applying the viewers maxim (Housley and Fitzgerald 2015). I saw this as a membership category activity from one female lecturer to another, gender was an understood category predicate inferred within the discussion.

The two stories already recounted were of women, feeling that they were not going to get career advancement within their area, so they sought to build up their employability elsewhere. Using ethnographic inquiry, I note that women were more likely to respond to a null-response by questioning their identity (Rawls and Duck 2017) and men were more likely to attribute the fault to the other party and preserve their identity. As highlighted in Garfinkel's (1967) study of Agnes, gender is performed. Here we note behaviours attributed to gender, and the issue of questioning ones identity through recalling breached interactions with others was seen as a fitting response for women.

Another story recounted by a female was of her position being questioned by a male colleague.

So that was the thing, in that particular situation, that kind of threw me a bit, but in terms of the [lecturer], I think because [he] was involved as a VL on something that was so much about the essence of the module and as far as I could tell he was involved in that meeting as an equal, so it wasn't like it was my meeting…
Me: Or you were module leader.
SL: Me as module leader, it was just that we, as a collective were talking about that content. And I just wondered if some of the things that I had noticed, some of the things, his behavioural traits, that I have noticed since, would be kind of, linked to that. But conversely, and possibly…he has also made a few remarks, like, you know, unless you are making a remark about my status… Or I have suggested something and he has said, in an e-mail and he said something about, but do you mean that in a proprietary way?
Discussion 4, Female, SL/ML

This female gave a number of accounts of being questioned in terms of her opinion, when speaking with a male lecturer. Her account demonstrated that she felt she was not given the accord she expected because she was not seen as senior enough. This resonated with Garfinkel's (1963) examples of how questions can be used to undermined trust. This link to precarity is a one which needs further exploration. However, as Stokoe (2012) asserts, if this is how the observer sees it, then it is so! Further exploration of this issue need to be undertaken outside of this study.

Chapter 9 - Key findings from the data analysis

I have outlined the data analysis in three parts. I shall now go on to look at what were the findings of this analysis. It shall be outlined in three parts again, using a similar structure.

9.1 - Analysis part one

This first analysis is of my observation of meetings. These early observations were used to partially achieve my first three research objectives. The purpose of these observations was to understand the day-to-day performances of those working in post 1992 HEI's and how they accomplish their ordinary working lives. This fits with understanding how academics make sense of their job and also how they observably demonstrate their understanding of it. The materials examined also showed aspects of how they worked their ideal notions of work and played out tensions, into their daily performances.

In his early lectures, and then later ones published by others, Sacks (1984, cited in ten Have 2007) poses the question; what is it to be an ordinary person? He emphasised to his students that to be ordinary, is in some ways extraordinary, It requires effort to be ordinary. To do this an individual needs to know what is required to act 'ordinary' in the set of circumstances they are in. If we apply this concept of the extraordinary accomplishment of the ordinary to the analysis what we see is not so much a set of managers who are scared to manage, but individuals who are confident of how to 'blend in' in the setting they are in. To adapt a phrase from Garfinkel (1967) it seems that there are 'good reasons for 'bad' people management

practices,' (pg. 186)[14]. Using a mixture of CA, MCA and EM, I have analysed interaction between various staff members in one university. In manager to manager interactions it is part of the shared understanding of those interactions that the managers will find their management practices awkward and problematic, both in terms of their view of them, but also in trying to make them work within the institution. Interactions are shared in such a way to demonstrate this. Memberships within the management group observed used their interactions to console each other of their duties and to express frustration of management outside of that membership group. In academic-manager to managed-academic interactions, the rituals of communication took a preference order of speaking academic to academic, in terms of the membership of the speakers. Talk of management is seen as troublesome and generally is made light of. This is joked about and not taken as a serious issue. It is used as a stepwise interaction (Jefferson 1996a), to be brought in, joked about as troublesome and then membership is then emphasised again, to the discipline of the academics. In meetings with academics from the business school, where the discipline is managing, even here, the academics show mistrust of management decisions. In meetings with non-academic managers and academics, the membership of the group, again shows deference to the academic role. More attention is accorded to topics such as rigorous data, which is seen as an academic subject. Management is taken seriously by non-academics in the groups, but a splinter group of academics who whisper and laugh serve to undermine that. These membership groups appear well defined and interactions are worked to show an understanding of this. Noticeable violations were not as apparent in these early interactions as in the later observations and the stories that were gathered. This could be due to the timing being a few years earlier or because of the nature of the groups. However, considering this from an ethnomethodological angle this would be

[14] Garfinkel, H. (1967) wrote a paper called 'good organizational reasons for 'bad' clinic records'.

because of the context. Garfinkel (1967) would state that members' methods were motivated by their environment, the context of these situations is purely staff. It is not necessary to consider from any wider perspective than these scenarios.

The artful practice of managing is not a new phenomenon, Golding (1991) outlined the ritualized nature of management interactions with subordinates. What this serves to demonstrate is that little and much has changed since Golding's paper despite the emphasised role of managerialism. What is interesting is in hybrid roles, such as academic-manager, it is evident that the management side is much less of a priority than the academic side. Golding's (1991) paper was also an ethnomethodological paper looking at how management rituals were used to undermine subordinates, but here in the university, the interactions which are ritualized are almost the opposite. Academic rituals are used to undermine managerial ones. Golding isn't clear on what sort of organisations the managers he observed were from, nor does he drill down further in his membership categories, other than subordinates, so it is difficult to see the complexity of the interactions.

9.2 - Analysis part two

The second part of the analysis was the application of the documentary method to six observed and recorded lectures, these were then overlaid and presented together, not as one lecture but as features of a lecture. This was done to achieve the research objective of documenting methods (objective four). It also partially achieved research objectives two and three, by showing how performance is demonstrated between different people in HE and many of the tensions that exist were also performed, thus showing evidence for research objective three.

Some of the lectures used were recorded with video and re-watched, some were audio recorded but all were recorded in some way. The recordings were transcribed and analysed using CA and MCA methods of inquiry. These were used to complement the documentary method (Garfinkel 1967) to these lectures, to see how lecturers worked with the students to accomplish the issue of lecturing. Atkinson (1996) observes that although turn taking and other such group organisational issues may be dismissed as not apparent in the world of public speaking, which is what a lecture can be considered to be, there is a requirement for all present to have a shared response to the performance features of lecturing or 'it is easy to imagine the sort of unmonitorable chaos that might otherwise characterise public meetings' (pg. 371). This contests the work of Cazden (2001) who asserts that teachers have the right to talk at all times in the classroom. It also highlights the point of Hester and Francis (2004), that lectures are identifiable by a number of features, not just the words of the lecturer or the room that the event is in. All aspects combine to create a lecture. Ethnomethodology exposes the shared concept and as demonstrated in these observations the lecture theatre 'rules' only apply if all parties are willing for it to be so. There was evidence of interaction within all lectures, those in large lecture theatres, and those in smaller, more classroom-based learning environments. The lecturer will generally invite interaction, and in general, the lecturer is seen to hold the floor. Holding the floor is also done through the work of interaction and behavioural devices, which indicate that the floor is to be held. Atkinson (1996) doing work on public speaking and audiences, notes that audiences are usually confined in what and how they can respond. This is usually in unison through such signals as clapping or booing (in a pantomime) at signalled opportunities but a lecture does differ from other such public forums in that interactions in lectures are not always done in unison. Indeed, interaction is generally invited by individuals, and signals such as selection through a raised hand or a head nod by the lecturer. What was apparent in the study of these lectures is that interaction is becoming more

normalised, despite the restrictive nature of the setting. Lecturers are even encouraging what would normally be considered to be bad behaviour, such as shouting from the auditorium to be heard sufficiently. There is evidence that this interaction, whilst now the norm is still fragile in its shared understanding. There are times when the students are invited by the lecturer to respond, but they do not, so the lecturer works hard to try and get a response a second time. In one lecture, there is noisy disruption, when the lecturer is still going ahead, and the lecturer works hard to get back the attention of the students.

This points to the need for further investigation into the event 'a lecture', to understand the expectations of both parties to avoid discrepancies, which will affect the group experience.

Another noticeable feature of lectures is an increased use of technology. This lecture series was demonstrated in the same style as Garfinkel's observation of a chemistry lecture (Garfinkel 1967). In his notes he observed the use of blackboards, whereas in all the lectures I observed the use of power point and visual screens. The use of the web has become more prevalent, and a search shows me that there are now chemistry lectures also online. The difficulty for the lecturers is the unpredictability of technology, which plays out in the interaction with students. Discrepancies seem to occur around ambivalent interactions which happen around the use of technology. Devices to keep pace or hold the floor lose significance when technology disrupts their flow. These findings point to the disruptive nature of technology in the interaction of learning.

My study also showed that lectures are also a forum for delivering messages which are of relevance outside of the lecture, to the body of students in attendance. Lectures are a forum to increase attention to the wider issues of being a university.

They serve the purpose of broadening the experience of the student from outside of 'this' lecture, 'this' module, 'this' course (Eglin 2009) . These events highlighted in lectures may be to promote events that are construed to enhance the marketability of the university, such as society or club events or guest speakers, but also to promote the managerial aspects of the marketised university, such as government surveys, which will track student's satisfaction. There was evidence in the shared account from the students and the lecturing staff of acknowledgement of the marketization and managerialism in HE. What is interesting in the promotion of the managerialist agenda, lecturers are promoting this, but the student response was to ask about the assessment and to ignore the wider university issues. This points to the fact that whilst universities are under pressure to offer more, this may not be what students want. This ambivalence or fractured reflection, is further explored in the third part of the analysis

9.3 - Analysis part three

In the third set of analysis discussions took place with fellow lecturers. These were carried out to help with the achievement of research objectives one, three and four. The discussions were elicited to help uncover how academics understand their environment, how they behave in light of these understandings and how they deal with arising tensions.

The coat hanger method (Garfinkel 2002) was used in these discussions to give a story of a considered breach of expectation, to then see what response was given back. Garfinkel (2002) states if the breach is understood then the recipient will give back a similar experience, but if not, they will look confused and the researcher can read that as not having experienced such breaches. This method highlights the issues of what is not socially recognised and reflected back (Cooley 1902, cited in Rawls and Duck 2017). EM uncovers the shared meaning through interaction. Social

order is accomplished through the understanding of all actors participating in that shared experience to create that order. Members will have entered the situation with a pre-supposition to their interactions, even though these are not planned or not known, just a mundane reality. As interaction occurs, each participant will have a presupposed understanding and some ideas of response. However, when expectations are different then breaches of that expectation will happen through 'fractured reflections' (Cooley 1902, cited in Rawls and Duck 2017). Fractured reflections will lead to a lack of *trust[15] in the patterns of social order (Garfinkel 1967), which Rawls and Duck have then translated, to show how people perceive it in terms of actual trust. As previously stated, these were not interviews they were discussions, where I shared stories with my colleagues. The purpose of this is to see if people recognise the story and have a similar one to feed back. This is what tends to happen if people identify with the story (Garfinkel 1967). Cooley (1983, cited in O'Brien 2011) states that we understand our social role by how it is mirrored back to us by recipients in a social situation. From early in our lives we see connections between our actions and other responses, and from that we learn to understand ourselves as social beings. We also learn to act differently in different settings to different people. When these ideas of self are not reflected back according to our expectations, then we feel the effects of a fractured reflection. Yhis may alter our perception of how to behave in such situations or it may make us disillusioned. As a work environment sets up expectations itself, this is likely to manifest as anger or bewilderment. Many stories were given, by staff to show 'fractured reflections' of expectations between staff and students. Staff and students seem to have a different understanding of how the institute should work, both inside and outside the lecture theatre. Goffman (1959) gives an example of a student so attentive that s/he cannot concentrate on learning because their efforts are going into their performance of

[15] Where Garfinkel uses a *star symbol it means that the word is not used in the context it is normally used in.

being attentive. Garfinkel (2002) gives the example of students showing thoughtless listening, but these fellow academics gave examples of students not showing up at all. Once they have shown up, they have not prepared and even contest the lecturers' grade afterwards. The stories were narrated in such a way to show that this was a dilemma because there are students who do show up, who do prepare and who are engaged in their learning. Women tended to express this as bewilderment and confusion about how to do their jobs. Male lecturers were more likely to be dismissive or annoyed of it. One person gave examples of how they dealt with it, but then went on to explain that this was to no avail. This demonstrates there is a perceived lack of shared consensus of the social situation.

Stories of breaches between staff demonstrate that these fractured reflections exist within the faculty also. There is disagreement about what to prioritise and whether student experience should be placed above any other priority. There were stories of disappointment in team work, or issues of managerialism versus collegiality. There were also examples of male domination over more senior female colleagues. Many found that the hardest thing was to push back for time for research, and often those who accomplished this, did so by sacrificing their own time or letting down others. Those who did this felt disenchanted, some expressed uncertainty about how to progress. This was an issue more readily expressed by female colleagues than male colleagues. Women were more willing to share the precarious nature of their work than the men who were interviewed. This was generally expressed as confusion of their role, inability to do their job, or the chance that they were going to fall behind and lose opportunities in their careers. I emphasise here that this is how it was performed to me. I did not in any way measure or test how their work had impacted on their career. It is possible that this performance of identity was expressed to me this way as a fellow female academic; this could be part of the shared identity.

Such performances of precarity may be because female academic staff do not feel as secure as male academic staff. Lynch (2014) highlights that neoliberalism and its impacts, have led to gendered hierarchies within the sector. Male dominated fields are more revered than female dominated fields. She notes that theoretically women have the same chance, but behaviourally there is a 'carelessness' to the sector (Lynch 2010), which is a gendered phenomenon. Foucault (2008) asserts that neoliberalism gives an illusion of equality, through choice, but in fact cannot work, if people are equal. The origins of neoliberal ideology are based on the concept of a competitive market. A competition is not about equality, it is the opposite. Foucault (2008) makes the point that it is understood that governments cannot interfere with the market but must create a social discourse of the market as a regulatory tool. Equality is framed as access to goods, and individual choice will regulate.

I will now conclude on my findings and how this fits with the conceptual framework and into the wider remit of existing research.

Chapter 10 - Conclusion

This chapter brings together all the aspects of this thesis and discusses how the research objectives have been answered and then presents and concludes on the main findings from the three sections of analysis. It will then finish with a reflection on further suggestions of research and present a brief reflection of my personal journey.

10.1 - The objectives, how they have been answered and possible further research

The four research objectives, which this thesis set out to investigate, were:

1) To understand how academics with both teaching and research commitments or teaching and management commitments working in post 1992 HEI's make sense of the demands of their job.
2) To analyse how these academics observably demonstrate their understanding of their job through their day-to-day interactions and how they present themselves to others. e.g. Managers, students, wider academic community.
3) To explain how academics manage the tensions arising from complexities in their roles and their competing demands.
4) To document the techniques used to manage these demands/ expectations.

To achieve the objectives, I started by exploring the current literature on what has happened in HE over the last 50 years. I also explored some popular theoretical approaches towards this literature. In my objectives I set out to review how the participants of a university understand their daily jobs.

The literature highlights a set of reforms imposed on the sector. Terms such as new managerialism, marketization and performativity are used polemically to emphasise that neoliberal influences have affected the sector. Students are framed as cultural dopes, academics are framed as conflicted, nevertheless both parties still engage in university life. I wanted to understand this further in terms of what this means to practical everyday action. In order to understand how practice is influenced by the modern agenda. I used ethnomethodology to explore this phenomenon.

I carried out three types of analysis in order to achieve my objectives. In the first analysis I focused on the conversations of the staff members of one particular post 1992 university. Using the tools of CA and MCA, I examined everyday interactions that took place is what can loosely be termed meetings. Boden (1994) refers to meetings as when members come together. They are usually ritual affairs, where the members show their understanding and allegiance to the shared principles of the organisation.

Taking this definition and understanding, my purpose was to look at how work identities are displayed in the form of interaction. The literature tells us that there are significant changes, which would impact on the identity of the members and examples are given to show how it does. However, this analysis showed that the academic identity and the disciplined identity are still prioritized over the managerial identity. Boden (1994) acknowledges that meetings are also places for tensions to be explored. She demonstrates in her work, how conversation is used to create a shared understanding of the organization but also to bring in agendas and power plays. Conversations are a powerful tool, without it the organization cannot exist, so therefore the simple exchanges of the members are an important illustration of the workplace culture. Demonstrated within these meetings was a hierarchy of

importance of academic identity over the identity of managerial issues, despite their pervasive presence.

The meetings which were examined showed that this shared understanding of the priority of discipline and academic rigour are understood by staff members. Despite the importance of managerialism as framed in the literature, this was not as evident in the day to day interaction. This study illustrates the hybrid roles in academia, most notably that of academic managers.

This research is an insight into the practices of hybrid management and hybrid identity in practice. The first piece of analysis extends existing research into the area of hybrid managers. Deem et al (2007) highlight the issue of complex multiple identity management in HE, particularly the hybrid role of academic-managers. They highlight the importance of staying connected to relevant communities of practice for better staff engagement. My research illustrates the findings of Deem et al (2007) who studied academic managers and found that ideals of collegiality were favoured in all universities, even post 1992. They also found that notions of managing were often seen as unhelpful. This research illustrates these considerations and issues in practice and shows how interactions are oriented to develop smoother technologies of agency (Dean 2010) to improve work encounters. It contributes to knowledge by adding to what is already known on the difficulties for hybrid managers and informs 'good practice' for better working relationships. It is recognized that there is a need to study the role of hybridity to avoid binary views (Machin 2017), but most research explores identity, without considering practice.

Further ethnomethodological inquiry, looking at the role of managerial encounters, including the use of video would build on this research and further inform the issue of

practice. Such studies are used in medical practice to improve quality. These would also be valuable in higher education.

In the second part of the analysis, attention was turned to the performance features of lectures. Whilst there is a recognition of the presence of other members, the lens was on the academic and their interpretation of performance. Examples of managerialism and marketization were evident in the lectures but the teaching identity is prioritised. Events outside of the lecture were advertised and student expressed a wish for incentives, such as doughnuts, but any activities outside of lecturing were short, and the key attention was to the pursuit of learning. This study serves to illustrate how academics deal with these responsibilities in their daily interactions with students and how students respond in recognition of the priority of learning. Ethnomethodology studies of this issue are uncommon, and this study contributes to the knowledge of hybrid identities (Deem et al 2007, Fanghanel 2012) in the managed academic by looking at daily accomplishment of competence from a members perspective.

Lyotard's (1984) notion of performativity was also illustrated in the study, showing the use of technology and how it plays into daily accomplishment. It also highlighted how this can impact on interactive devices such as handing out work, to create communication discrepancies. Humberstone et al (2013) assert there is a difference between the economic policies of neoliberalism and the social policies, the latter being overt, the former being hidden. Social policies are framed through issues of choice, performance management and market influences. Technology is framed as used to increase the 'reach' of the classroom, provide access to students, improve learning outputs, but this ignores that it also used to drive down costs. Humberstone et al (2013) also draw the connection between affect and learning. The interactions in analysis two, illustrate the technological problems that happen. These range from

checking available technology works to changing the nature of interactions with students (Heritage 1997 cited in Llewellyn and Hindmarsh 2010). This is shown through the ambivalent communication about handouts, which serves to undermine the potentially authoritative nature of this interaction. These descriptions show that performativity can bring disruption to the learning environment. In analysis three one lecturer expressed their wish to be more innovative, but that technology was unreliable and this left them cautious. This study shows this is not just knowledge of how to use technology, but how it fits with our other interactions. Drawing on Humberstone et al (2013), academic satisfaction is down as a result of the expectation to use more technology as it changes their understanding of their role. The use of EM studies is helpful to illustrate interactional assymetries (Heritage 1997, cited in Llewellyn and Hindmarsh 2019). Assymetries that are illustrated like this demonstrate how competence is shown or not shown. What is illustrated here shows that useful resources that academics have drawn on may be rendered ineffective by performativity (Lyotard 1984). This affects the performance of the academic because for this to be effective 'cultural conceptions of conduct' need to be shared (West and Zimmerman 2009 pg 114). This demonstrates a shift in the interaction and studies like this, outlining the daily activities, contribute to knowledge by illustrating how changes have altered the cultural conceptions.

Further micro studies using video would help to illustrate the issues further (Hindmarsh and Llewellyn 2018). These studies could be used to improve work encounters by illustrating discrepancies and highlighting how relevant resources are drawn upon to improve understanding.

The third part of the analysis explored the tensions in more detail. And here there appeared to be significant breaches in expectations, which are affecting the trust of all parties. What was apparent in the accounts of academic staff that I spoke to, was

that there were inconsistencies in the social order from their perspective. This was their accounts of their understanding of their role with students or other staff. As Boden (1994) highlights, the central part of Garfinkel's 'incongruity procedures' was to highlight just how easy it is to breach, but also how resilient routines of daily life are. These accounts were designed to show the incongruities, and indeed they did. The point of the coat hanger method (Garfinkel 2002) is to highlight them.

Accounts of breaches show that academics feel that their identity is under threat, and sometimes even by their own kind, other members who they perceive to see as the same as them. This section of analysis demonstrated a lack of consistency in shared identity and once again illustrated the complex nature of the academic role. Identity as performed by the academics was not always recognized back. Academics involved in the discussions gave accounts of how their attempts to preserve their complex role and 'be academic' were not always accepted, thus showing a lack of 'social solidarity' in daily accounts (West and Zimmerman 2009, pg 119)

The literature on HE focuses on the impact of the changes but taking an ethnomethodological approach often highlights the identity issues that need to be preserved (Wieder 1974). By examining interaction, we can see that the telling of academic identity shows how students get grouped into identities such as 'weak', when fractured reflections are confronted and dismissed (Rawls and Duck 2017). Alternatively, academics themselves feel helpless, when their reaction is bewilderment at their own job role (Rawls and Duck 2017).

Williams (2016) notes how performativity (Lyotard 1984) has changed the production of knowledge. This is evident in some of these breaches, and how academics are reacting to these discrepancies. In conversations around these issues, it was

evident, in the account of the academics, that they saw students as seeing themselves as consumers (Williams 2013). This study points to the need for a similar coat hanger study with students to give an understanding of their view of learning. This was outside the scope of this study.

What this ethnomethodological perspective shows, is that there are good reasons why organisational initiatives fail (Rawls 2008). Members within those organisational interactions do not just resist change, as predominant social thinking will assert, but they defend practices, which are of inherent use to the organisation and its purpose. When breaches occur, as they are described in this research, it breaks the trust, and creates disorder. This research also suggests that how men and women may be dealing with this is accounted for differently. Their accounts demonstrated that women exhibited confusion in resolving shop floor problems, whereas men tended to dismiss the students as weak or other staff as wrong (Rawls and Duck 2017).

This study highlights the complexity of the working identity that an 'average academic' has and points to a need for greater understanding of this in the performance management of academics and development initiatives that could be used to support staff in their role. As highlighted earlier, so far university performance and internal performance management or HRM practices have not been linked to successful organisational performance, even though this is the case in other sectors (Guest and Cllnton 2007). This study looks at daily performances to understand this issue. It demonstrates further work needs to be done on this area to understand the detail of performance and how resources are used to show competence. Blunt externally applied measures of performance seem to disrupt the complex nature of higher education, this is illustrated in the third set of analysis.

In general, the studies included in this thesis contribute to a body of knowledge on considering the role of practice in action. Ethnomethodology studies can and do contribute to existing academic work in management and organisations (Llewellyn and Hindmarsh 2010), but as noted by Watson (2012), this is still rarely done. These types of studies, have grown in some professional areas more than others, such as medical practice (Bezemer et al 2011, Bezemer et al 2014, Hindmarsh and Llewellyn 2018). But as Llewellyn and Hindmarsh (2010) note studies of management and organisations that fully embrace ethnomethodology are uncommon. This research contributes to this body of knowledge, helping to increase our understanding of the practical accomplishment of work in action, within post 1992 universities.

10.2 - Limitations with the research

This research has illustrated issues of identity in HE. It has taken a member's view to understand the identity schisms (Winter 2009). This perspective adds a contribution to the knowledge by looking in fine detail at the broader issues highlighted in the literature review. It is a study which works to complement other studies in this area, such as Garfinkel's original work (2002), Hester and Francis' work (2004) and Eglin's more recent study (2009).

As previously stated, ethnomethodology often highlights further research, rather than indicates solutions from the outset. Studies of this nature looking at the management of organisations are few, so this thesis serves to create new research opportunities more than answer existing problems. EM studies are not generalisable due to their specific nature. These studies show day-to-day issues in two post 1992 institutions, for a greater understanding further studies would need to be carried out in other institutions.

Some areas for further exploration have been highlighted in the last section (10.1). This research illustrated the complex nature of academic roles. There is a need for further exploration into the management of complex organisations such as higher education.

Another limitation to highlight is that my studies focused on the use of interaction through language, with some description of recordings, but more micro studies using video footage could illuminate the use of resources to document smoother work encounters, in professional settings such as higher education. Video footage adds to the data anaysls.

10.3 – Reflections on my journey

An essential part of any thesis is the reflection of one's own journey in the pursuit of knowledge. This PhD process has been a personal journey for me, and it has taken me over seven years. I have been a part time student throughout this time and also a middle-aged woman with a full-time job, a single parent to one child, and with many caring responsibilities, such as aging and ailing parents. In this process, I have relocated, moved jobs, and set up home in a new relationship. This has certainly been an eventful journey, both professionally and personally.

10.3.1 - The development of my research self and fitting it in with my other selves

During this process I have read extensively about social perspectives of identity and feel this has huge relevance to how I feel in my reflection on this PhD journey.

I go back to Butler's (2015) point, in the formation of 'I'. Embarking on this project in my early forties, there were already many identity labels that have been placed on

my body. Some of these are my own, (although that is arguable) but some of these are badges put on me, by those around me. It is not easy to distinguish between those badges that I placed there myself and those placed by others. I proclaim to be an accomplished cook, but I cannot help but recognise that this is a role often associated with women, like myself, especially women from very traditional families, like my own. My point is that entering a project like this at the age of 40, meant that some of those badges were so well attached that trying to make space for more, and to carve out time and space to place my body in situations which would enable me to develop my researcher self, have not been without a struggle. Working in HE, and thus having some insider status, I did not encounter access problems, in the way that I read about in other studies. I generally found that colleagues and managers were welcoming of my suggestion to observe and record them. This may be due to the nature of a lot of academic work, such as lecturing already being very transparent and open, and also recorded. I was also surprised at the ease with which managers were prepared to open up to me and allow me access into their everyday world. Something I learnt about research, is that it is revered and welcomed. This is what one would expect in a university, but I also suspect that my topic was also seen as welcoming, as it was one they could identify with, so perhaps it was welcomed as an apposite topic to explore.

To some extent I was able to chart my own progress, in terms of building my academic identity, as I found that it featured in a lot of my recordings. I have mentioned regularly the need for high trust and I knew all participants that I observed. But I noted that interactions that took place between myself and them in my early research, I discovered myself talking about my research objectives and my work as an academic much more tentatively and hesitantly than I did in the later research. When I embarked on this journey, I was known by my colleagues for my management experience, I was new to academia, and this was evident in how I

talked about myself in this new role. I would generally give a rather self-deprecating account of myself and seek information from them. Many were willing to offer me advice. This was also apparent in a lecture that I observed (but did not use) in my transcripts, from my first set of data gatherings. I was new to lecturing, even though in the past I have taught and am experienced in this element of the work, it is evident from my conversation that I saw myself less experienced and therefore in need of learning from my colleague whom I observed.

In my later data gatherings, I entered my second university as 'experienced', and again, this was evident in how I spoke to colleagues about lectures or research. I sounded more authoritative, my conversations about my subject were lengthier and instead of listening with intent to others I tended to talk more about what I was doing, in terms of my research. My recordings appear to document my progressing academic identity.

If one uses the analogy of badges pinned to me, I could feel and see this badge grow, but finding space for it, against the other badges, which did not seem to shrink was a constant challenge. Wearing all these badges was hard work. Despite my best efforts to extricate myself from family dramas, of which my family seems to have many, calls for my attention did not drop. Feola (2014) writes about the seeing (and not seeing) of the human, and I found great resistance from my family to give me the time to do research. This was lumped into the category they saw as work; however, work did not recognide this as a category, and it has been a constant challenge to pull myself out of my caring responsibilities. This is a badge that I do wear with pride, but one that has the potential to derail this new growing aspect of my identity. For me this has been a constant game of boundary management and having to build up a sharp resilience to the critical eye of family and friends, who may not see academic learning as important.

When I first entered the PhD process, I was lucky enough to be supported by my institution. At the time, universities would support their staff, by providing time, and even funding for their PhD. However, even before I moved jobs, this was changing, but having entered the process by one agreed contract, I was sheltered from these changes, until I moved jobs. When I moved jobs, there was no funding to help, and I was surprised when I bid for research hours, that my institution could not support me with hours for my PhD, as it was not of benefit for them, it was of benefit for me. This put me under even greater pressure to find time to carry out my research and my writing. The space for any other badges was very limited! Drawing on EM and performativity, I became very aware of the normative notion of daily activities, and the calls from my shared social space for me not to change how I interacted with others. Austin (1962) talks about perlocutionary performatives. I may state 'I can't get involved now, I have to devote time to a project' but I can only really devote time to this if others acknowledge my need for space and allow it, or I cause breaches of expectation (Garfinkel 1967) which may lead to ruptures in my family community. I have indeed caused breaches, but none so bad to cause permanent family ruptures.

10.3.2 - Understanding insider status

As highlighted by Trowler (2012), insider status has its benefits, it is easier to access naturalistic data, in universities people understand the purpose, and it is easier to produce emic accounts. However, there is a slightly more problematic flipside to this. It may be harder to extricate oneself from the data and produce etic accounts, something important in EM. There may also be conflict in the roles of professional, researcher and student, all-competing as one. I felt the strange sensation, as alluded to by Morriss (2016), of 'doing the dirty' on colleagues and also friends, by documenting and writing about their practices. To alleviate this, I also included my

own interactions, which I found profoundly embarrassing. The issues that usually made me feel uncomfortable the most, were the ones in which I was embedded. I did try and extricate myself from my own emotions and comment objectively, but this does not mean that I did not feel the emotional reaction. I just had to recognie it and try and move beyond it. It can be a struggle to extricate yourself from the familiar, and this has been something that I have had to be mindful of, all the way through. This has been made harder by my choice to use EM, which is about looking at the everyday, rather than emerging themes. To remain focused on my objectives, I often have to remove myself from my research and re-read a couple of EM studies, which I found particularly interesting. These were Wieder's (1974) study of a half-way house, and Liberman's (2013) study of crossing the Kinkaid, and also his study of reading the rules of board games. These always helped me to refocus and understand my purpose. This was particularly important to me, as I found that there is not really a community of other researchers using EM, at least not one readily available to me. Communities of practice are an important part of developing academic identity, however, when there is not one, one has to make do with reading the work of others. Both these aspects of my reflection demonstrate more of my personal approach to research and my development as an individual. They are important as they presented a constant challenge. In the very final stages I sought help online and by contacting Professor Jonathan Hindmarsh. I wish I had built up some supportive networks earlier.

10.3.3 - Transcription Issues

Whilst the gathering of data was relatively easy, I found that people were happy to give me access, due to my insider status; the transcribing of raw data was painstaking. This is something alluded to in various articles I have read, but I cannot emphasise enough, how arduous this process seemed. I tried to find ways around

this, there are ways you can turn your recordings into a rough transcription, but these were so far from the reality that in the end there was nothing I could do but put up with the hard task of manually going through it all. I am sure with more money, time and a better understanding of the tools out there, there is a more sophisticated way of doing this, but so far, I have not found a way of dealing with this issue, other than ploughing on regardless.

I have enjoyed doing this thesis and so I will see this as something I can invest time, energy and further learning into, once I have completed. I see my PhD journey as similar to learning to drive. When I passed my driving test a was fully aware that I had reached a standard which was only just proficient, becoming adept, was going to take more time. I am applying this same philosophy to my doctorate. This is just the beginning of a research journey, this is not the end.

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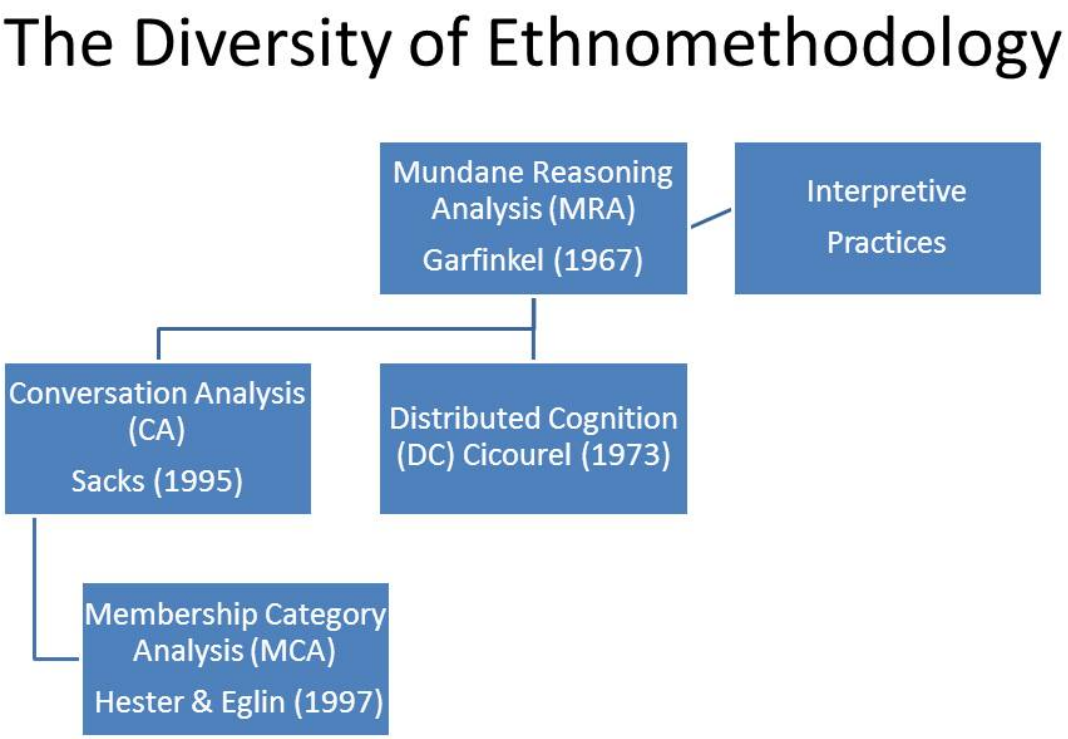
Appendices

Appendix 1



Marcon, T. & Gopal, A. (2008)

Appendix 2

The Jefferson Transcription System

Conversation analysts and many discourse analysts use the **Jefferson system of transcription notation**. This is because in CA the transcripts are designed to show how things were said, not just, what was said.

Useful references for Jefferson transcription include:

Atkinson, J. M. & Heritage J. (1999) Transcription Notation – Structures of Social Action: Studies in CA, Aphasiology, Vol 13, Iss 5 pp 243-249

Jefferson, G. (2004). Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction. In G. H. Lerner (Ed). CA: Studies from the First Generation. (pp: 13-31). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

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Here are the symbols used:

Transcription notation:

(.) A full stop inside brackets denotes a micro pause, a notable pause but of no significant length.

(0.2) A number inside brackets denotes a timed pause. This is a pause long enough to time and subsequently show in transcription.

[Square brackets denote a point where overlapping speech occurs.

> < Arrows surrounding talk like these show that the pace of the speech has quickened

< > Arrows in this direction show that the pace of the speech has slowed down

( ) Where there is space between brackets denotes that the words spoken here were too unclear to transcribe

(( )) Where double brackets appear with a description inserted denotes some contextual information where no symbol of representation was available.

Under When a word or part of a word is underlines it denotes a raise in volume or emphasis

↑ When an upward arrow appears it means there is a rise in intonation

↓ When a downward arrow appears it means there is a drop in intonation

→ An arrow like this denotes a particular sentence of interest to the analyst

CAPITALS where capital letters appear it denotes that something was said loudly or even shouted

Hum(h)our When a bracketed 'h' appears it means that there was laughter within the talk

= The equal sign represents latched speech, a continuation of talk

:: Colons appear to represent elongated speech, a stretched sound